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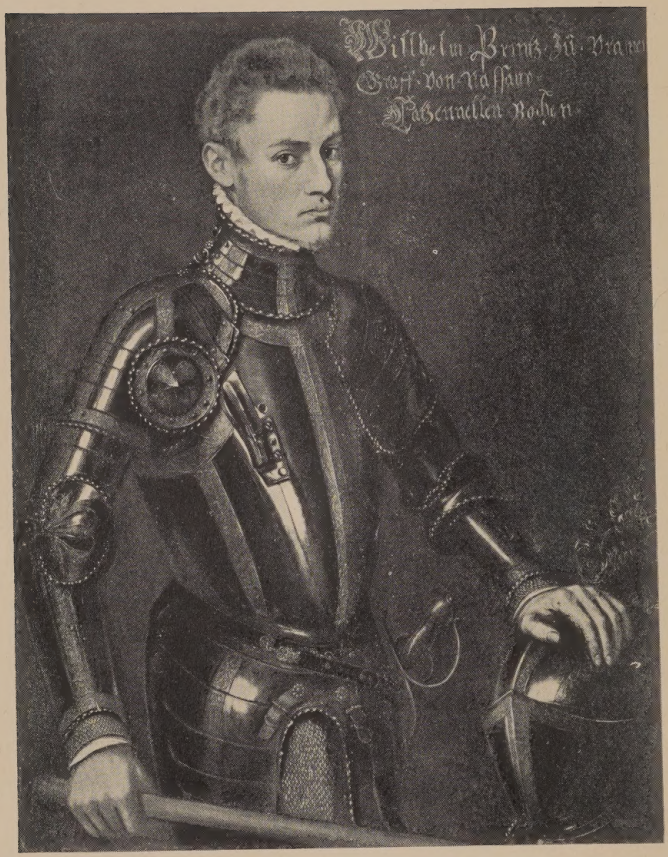


WILLIAM OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE. ÆT. C. 24.

# WILLIAM THE SILENT

## PRINCE OF ORANGE

### THE MODERATE MAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE AS TOLD FROM HIS OWN LETTERS
FROM THOSE OF HIS FRIENDS AND ENEMIES
AND FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

BY
RUTH PUTNAM

"Het Geschil is te kleen om gesplijt te blijben"

VOLUME I.

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TO

S. H. P. & E. W. P.

# PREFACE

THE story of William the Silent is an oft-told tale, related in every history of the Netherlands, comprising the years 1533–1584. Yet his life was so full, he was so prominent a figure during twenty-five of his fifty-one years, he came in live touch with so many of the actors in the last scenes of the Reformation drama, that his full biography is still unwritten, and might easily be compiled on the scale of the latest life of Lincoln. In truth, that is the only form in which justice could be done, while material is overabundant. The reign of Charles V. and the succeeding half century is a period rich in records. The times did indeed try men's souls and stimulate their activity. The printing-press had not checked the ready pen of the letter writer; the newspaper was not born, but anonymous pamphlets written upon current events, with journalistic freedom, were frequently issued, while both official and private secretaries scattered voluminous epistles over England and the continent, often supplying, with a true reportorial instinct, the place of authentic knowledge by gossip and rumour. Every European state and

many private gentlemen retained ambassadors or emissaries in the Netherlands, who dispatched frequent messengers to their governments or masters, bearing minute accounts of *affaires de par de ça*, as the phrase was. Within the last decade nearly all extant documents of this nature, many of which Mr. Motley used in manuscript, have been published in full, with scholarly editing, so that these manifold views of the times are open to all students. The correspondence of the Prince of Orange himself has been printed in two series, aggregating fourteen volumes, edited by MM. Groen van Prinsterer and Gachard, archivists, respectively, of the Holland royal family and of the kingdom of Belgium. These two collections contain over seventeen hundred letters and documents, all told, one thousand and nine being signed by Orange, while the remainder are addressed to him or touch upon his affairs. There are, moreover, many more pertinent letters scattered through Bor's ponderous volumes and in the fine collection of sixteenth-century documents lately issued by Piot, Poullet, and Kervyn de Lettenhove, who have spared no pains to make their work reliable and complete. From these sources my narrative has, in the main, been drawn. The side-lights to the chronological thread of this correspondence, the description of events upon which existing letters are silent, are taken from Pontus Payen, Hoofd, Renon de France, and other contemporaneous or early seventeenth-century writers, as well as from later historians, who read the records with varying interpretations. A brief statement of the political and theological status

of the most important of these authors is hereafter given, so that their natural bias may be considered in weighing the value of their words.

Through the labyrinth of partisan opinion—to my mind M. Gachard is the only commentator who can be called impartial—Mr. Motley has been my guide, and I have patiently followed his inspiring lead with growing admiration for the untiring industry of his laborious researches, and for the accuracy and skill of his adaptations from the enormous mass of matter that he examined. In referring to Dutch, English, German, or French works, I have found that our American historian had made their knowledge his brilliant own, or that their pages contained long citations from his volumes. Even if these later writers disagree with Mr. Motley's conclusions, they show a close familiarity with his words. Professor Blok, of Leyden, has not yet brought his new history down to the epoch of the revolt of the provinces, so that my story goes to press without reference to this latest native authority but popular Dutch historians, like Terwogt and others, who write of the *Vader des Vaderlands*, draw largely from *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

It is possible that, if Mr. Motley had written in the end instead of the middle of the nineteenth century, he might have painted his characters in less heavy lines of black and white, as the aim of the modern historian is to find the man under the dust of the past, not to draw an heroic portrait. It is the human being that is looked for, not a mass of characteristics labelled good or bad. But with the

best will in the world, unbiassed biography is a difficult matter, as the point of view makes vast, almost vital, difference in the interpretation of any document. In my own efforts to tell a consecutive tale in the very words of the hero and his contemporaries, the result has been, perhaps, a running series of pictures arranged in somewhat a kaleidoscopic fashion, rather than a narrative written *currente calamo*, but these glimpses are authentic phases of the subject-matter, though they may not be the whole truth.

In making selections, my aim was to choose letters that have a personal bearing, many of which have never before been published in English, but it proved impracticable to treat of the Prince of Orange without sketching the public events with which he was so closely allied.

It has been very pleasant to make pilgrimages to Orange, Dillenburg, Breda, and to many other places in the Netherlands, identified with William of Nassau either in fact or in name, and pleasant, too, to search in various archives for scattered papers still unpublished. This search did not comprise Paris, and the French references to documents discovered since 1860 are taken second-hand from Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's work on *The Huguenots and the Beggars*. The librarians of the British Museum, of the royal libraries at The Hague and Brussels, of the university library at Geneva and the city archivists at Breda have shown me all courtesy, while my warmest thanks are due to the authorities of the Astor Library, and especially to Mr. Oscar Bierstadt,

from whom I have received valuable aid. I would also acknowledge the services of my friend, Miss N. W. Davenport, whose interest and assistance have helped me through the tedious work incidental to any historical research.

New York, March, 1895.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A COMPLETE list of all the works referred to will be found at the end of the second volume. The following are the writers whose material has been most largely utilised:

ARNOLDI, Johannes von, b. 1771 at Herborn in Nassau, where Valentin Arnoldi, his father, was professor of theology in the Calvinist seminary (est. 1584). In 1796 he became archivist of Nassau. Later he held several official positions. The latter years of his life he spent at Dillenburg, the cradle of the Orange-Nassau line, and devoted himself to collecting documents and information concerning the family. His *History of the Orange-Nassau Lands and their Rulers*, and a little volume on *Memorable Historical Events* are full of interesting Nassau lore given *con amore*. He died at Dillenburg in 1827.

BOR, Pieter Christianzoon, b. at Utrecht 1559, son of an apothecary. Eight years old when Alva arrived in the Netherlands, he saw with his own eyes many of the events which made his history. He was not learned, knowing no languages but Dutch and French. He collected many contemporaneous documents, acts, proclamations, reports of speeches, street rhymes, etc., and welded them together, with little literary form, into nine folio volumes, three of which cover the period 1559–1584. Many papers are preserved by him alone. Hollander and Protestant, his sympathies are with the patriots. The first three volumes of his work were published in 1595; the last in

1601. Ever since they have served as a mine to his successors, though they never have been completely translated.

BRANDT, Gerard, b. at Amsterdam 1626, son of a watchmaker, which craft he forsook for literature. He began his *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands* in 1657. About that time Holland was divided by theological discussions between the Arminians and Gomarists, in which he, as an Arminian, took part. The second part of his work was censured by the North Holland synod. His motto was *Omnibus.*

HOOFD, Pieter Corneliszoon, b. at Amsterdam March 16, 1581, so that he too grew up while war was waging. He did not follow either Arminius or Gomarus, refused indeed to join any congregation, but was nevertheless a "most excellent Christian." In 1628 he began his *Netherland History*, upon which he worked for nineteen years, until the very day of his death. He covers the whole period of Orange's life and is, by far, the most readable of the early Dutch historians. He entered into the fruit of Bor's labors, used that undigested mass to such good purpose that he is called the Dutch Tacitus, and is not undeserving of the name, as his one folio volume is written in a pleasant style.

HUGUERYE, Michael de la, b. about 1545 in France, educated at the College of Navarre. He was among the Huguenots who joined Louis of Nassau in 1572 and stayed by him until his death. He was too partisan a reformer to understand Orange's toleration. His *Memoirs* are valuable but not absolutely reliable in points of fact as they were written in 1604, many years after the events.

METEREN, Emanuel van b. June 9, 1535, at Antwerp. He spent much of his life in London, visiting Antwerp from time to time. For the last thirty years of his life he was consul of the Netherlands in London, where he died April 8, 1612. He was a collector of all sorts of curiosities, books, coins, medals, pamphlets, etc., relating to his native country, and from these he compiled the *History of the Netherlands*, which was first published in Delft in 1599. He was an ardent Protestant.

ORLERS, Jan van, b. about 1580; d. 1646. His *Genealogy and Laurels of the Counts of Nassau* is filled with laudations, the style being somewhat that of a funeral oration, but there are some useful details.

Pise, Joseph de la, wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century. His *Picture of the Princes and Principality of Orange* published at The Hague after 1625, is one source of the information in regard to Orange. As he lays great stress on the appearance of a new star in the heavens in 1572, he cannot be classed as a philosophical historian, but he gives some matter concerning the principality of Orange not found elsewhere.

Pontus Payen. Little is known of this author. He was Seignior of Essars, living at Arras, where on May 19, 1582, he and his father obtained letters of nobility from Philip II. His *Memoirs*, written in French, and covering the years 1559–1567 are full of picturesque details about the beginning of the troubles between king and nobles. He was royalist and Catholic, and belonged to the party of Malcontents who carried Artois back to the crown, though they had objected to the domination of Granvelle and the Spaniards in the early years of discontent. He, at the time of writing, has no sympathy with Orange or the Protestants, and inveighs bitterly against them.

Renon or Ranulphe de France, b. at Douay 1556. His father was a member of the grand council at Malines and in 1557, and president of the council at Artois. Renon succeeded him in both these offices. He wrote his *History of the Troubles in the Netherlands* in the first decade of the seventeenth century, when the Walloon country had again accepted Spanish supremacy. He stood high in the favour of the Spanish Court, was intensely royalist, and fervently Romanist. His history is probably based on the papers of Councillor d'Assonleville, which he read through the medium of the current Romanist ideas of his own generation. "Imagine the scandal of everyone's living according to his own will," is the refrain of his commentary on Philip's necessary measures to bring back erring sheep into the fold of the church.

Strada, Famien or Famianus, b. at Rome in 1572. Took the vows of St. Ignatius at an early age. Taught rhetoric for fifteen years, and was considered an eloquent orator. He spent many years on his *Belgian War* (*De Bello Belgico*), written in Latin in two folio volumes. He enters into many details, some of which are graphic, and others somewhat tedious. His point of view is that of a Jesuit. One volume of his work was rendered into English by Robert Stapylton, a courtier of Charles I.

EDITORS.

GACHARD, Louis Prosper, b. at Paris March 12, 1800; d. in Brussels Dec. 24, 1885. In 1831 he was naturalised as a Belgian, when he was appointed archivist-general by King Leopold. He reorganised the administration completely and augmented the collection under his charge, searching the European archives with great success. Besides many other important publications that he edited, the *Correspondence of William the Silent*, with his introduction to each of the six volumes, is the storehouse from which a foreign student can draw many original and important documents.

GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, b. at Voorburg Aug. 21, 1801; d. at The Hague May 19, 1876. He became confidential secretary of King William I., and archivist of the royal house. From the whole collection of documents that was open to him he compiled eight volumes of *Archives or Correspondence of the Orange-Nassau Family*, explaining the letters with valuable notes and comments, upon which I have drawn largely. He was the leader of the ultra-Calvinist party for many years, and refused to accept a ministerial portfolio because he saw the impossibility of carrying out his ideas. His liberal opponent wished the public schools to be neutral in religious questions, which he vigorously opposed. This animus is somewhat evident in his notes.

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WILLIAM THE SILENT.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE NASSAU FAMILY.

IT is a curious characteristic of many of the world's heroes that the country with which they have become identified in the annals of posterity has been the land not of their birth but of their adoption. National heroes, both mythical and real, have usually been immigrants, led to the home of their descendants by various reasons,—dissatisfaction with their situation, a desire for adventure in a larger sphere, or perhaps by the simple force of circumstances, with no principle whatever at stake. Thus they have been the outcome of a race, the result of influences quite alien to those upon which they left their imprint in history.

Our Dutch hero, William of Nassau, known as the Prince of Orange, the Silent One, is an odd instance of a man whose appellations do not fitly describe his

person. He was not a native of Holland, he never saw Orange, and he was certainly not silent.

Like certain other heroes who belong to the realm of myth rather than of history, he came from the south-east to the land where he played the title rôle in the great drama of his time.

He was not born a prince. His ancestors were simple German nobles who lived in the county of Nassau, lying east of the Rhine on both sides of the river Lahn, and extending from 50° to nearly 51° north, and from 7.50° to 8.50° east from Greenwich. I use the term "county," though that is not exactly correct, as the territory consisted largely of landed estates, possessed entire, or in joint tenure, by different branches of the Nassau family, whose members held, in most instances at least, direct from the emperor. It has always been a valuable piece of ground, for there are found some of the most noted of the beneficent springs which bubble up from German soil, bringing so many kindly healing qualities, that among them a cure is to be found for nearly all the ills that flesh is heir to. Not an insignificant part of the income of the later Dukes of Nassau has been the revenue from the poll-tax on the visitors to these waters. Wiesbaden, Ems, and Seltzer are the better known among these springs, but there are numerous other sources with healing properties which are used by Germans, if less frequented by foreigners. Then too, the region is fruitful in vines; Johannisberg is in Nassau, and the wine of that brand is known the world over. There are also fair mineral products in the soil, but these

were scantily exploited three and a half centuries ago. The pretty, rolling, well-irrigated country is dotted here and there with a number of the mountain-shaped hills so dear to the heart of the mediæval castle builders, who loved to perch a good stone wall high above the road, from behind which they could safely shoot an arrow down on an unsuspecting passer-by.

With a large estate, a number of houses was a necessity in the middle ages, and the Nassau family crowned many of their convenient hills with fortress-like dwellings, whose grey ruins now look like part of the live rock.

The exact date when the Nassaus planted their family tree in this pleasant region is uncertain.

In 1615, one Jan van Orlers published at Leyden a volume entitled *Genealogy and Laurels of the House of Nassau.* He claims to have found two papers treating of the family's origin, from the first of which he gives in detail the following story. When Cæsar came into Gaul, a certain pair of brothers, the Counts Lebarten, were among his officers. To one of these Cæsar gave a portion of Burgundy, to the other a small territory near the mouth of the Lahn, with charge of the bridge Cæsar had constructed at Coblenz, the point of confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine. Here the count built a castle and village, where the arms of the Nassaus are still to be seen, changed his name to Laurenburg, and founded one of those centres of civilisation in the north, which the Roman conqueror thought so important.

Some generations later, one of his descendants,

hunting in the Lahn valley, chased a stag up a mountain and came by chance on a spot that so pleased him that he straightway decided to build a castle there. When this was accomplished he called it "Nassau," *Nasse Auen*, from the wet meadows surrounding the mountain, and became so attached to his new abode that he dropped his old title and was known henceforth as Count of Nassau.

The story related in Van Orlers's second paper begins in the year 210 A.D., when Emperor Severus made a journey into Germany, accompanied by many noble Romans. It was a leisurely journey, apparently, for one of these gentlemen found time to build a castle on Nassau territory. When the then count remonstrated, he was met by the answer that all Romans might build where it pleased them. This cool assumption made the other German nobles uneasy as to possible encroachment on their lands, and several of Nassau's friends offered to accompany him to complain to Severus in person. The emperor heard their suit and then said, laughing: "It vexes you to have the Romans as neighbours, since you are compelled to have them as lords. No one shall be injured in his ancient rights and privileges. You gentlemen have come under the eagle's wing that he may maintain those very rights and privileges of yours. But, Count of Nassau, we have heard that you have only a daughter as heir, so that after your death your lands will lapse to us. Marry the maid to our uncle, whom we will make Count of Nassau, and he shall be your successor."

Nassau and his friends agreed to this proposal.

The nuptials were celebrated with great rejoicing, and after the old count's death the Roman, naturalised as a German, became head of the family.

There is still another ancestor claimed, of strictly Teutonic origin, and that is a certain Nasua,* mentioned by Cæsar,† as leader of the Suevians. All this is of course pure tradition. It was at one time as fashionable among German nobles to trace their descent from one of Cæsar's followers, as it has been in England to claim lineage from an invading Norman, or, if that were impossible, to assert that their earliest known forbear was of native stock, and that their family tree cast a broad shadow long before foreign invaders appeared.‡

Arnoldi,§ writing nearly two centuries later, simply rejects these and similar tales, and says it is impossible to claim any knowledge of the House of Nassau before the eleventh century.

Laurenburg was in all probability the cradle of

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* Andrew Christmanus, who preached the funeral sermon over John of Nassau, claims his descent from Nasua, a mighty German captain, in 56 B.C.

† *De Bello Gallico*, i., 37.

‡ Van Orlers's comment on the above is: "Let the learned judge of the truth. It is sufficient for us that these courageous and victorious princes are of renowned lineage, either descended from the Romans, monarchs of the world, or from one who did not quail before their prowess."

§ *Geschichte der Oranien Nassauischen Länder*, von Johann Arnoldi, Königl. Niederländischem wirklichen Geheimenrathe, des Belgischen Löwen Ordens Ritter, der Königl. Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften zu Erfurt Mitglied. Published in four volumes, 1799–1816, at Hadamar in Nassau. This is the main authority for all relating to the Nassau family in Germany.

the race, and Laurenburg the earliest known title of the family. Nassau was built later and its name assumed as the family title.

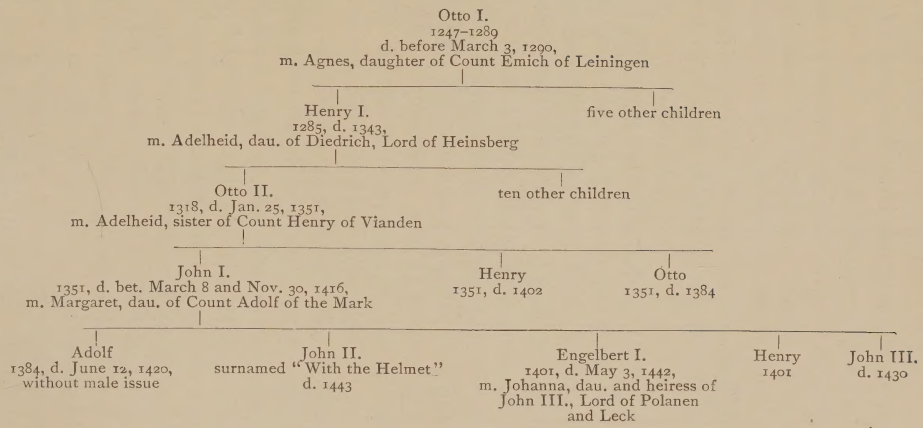
In Germany, before the sixteenth century, the right of primogeniture only obtained to the extent of giving to an elder brother a certain precedence, but not an exclusive right of inheritance. The estates were divided either by will or by agreements among the heirs. As the Nassau family ramified, the various branches made different castles their headquarters, and were distinguished from their cousins by their estate name. On the extinction of the male line in any one branch, the possessions would revert to another, and as, in spite of large families, this often happened, in the course of centuries the subdivided lands were more or less reunited.

The branch from which William of Orange sprang goes back to Ruprecht,[1] the first to exchange the title Laurenburg for that of Nassau. His grandson, Henry the Rich, living about the middle of the thirteenth century, was prominent in the empire, and probably built Dillenburg Castle in order to have a foothold in the northern part of his domains. His two sons, Walram and Otto, were the founders of the Walramian and Ottonian lines, between whom the ancestral acres were divided, while both retained a share in Nassau itself. One of Walram's descendants, Adolf, became emperor, while Otto was the head of the Nassau-Dillenburg stock, to which William of Orange belonged.

[1] See Appendix, Table A.

# HOUSE OF NASSAU-DILLENBURG

(1247–1401)




(over)

# HOUSE OF NASSAU-DILLENBURG

(1401–1606)

**Engelbert I.**
b. about 1388, d. May 3, 1442,
m. Johanna, dau. and heiress of John III., Lord of Polanen and Leck

- **John IV.** b. Aug. 1, 1410, d. Feb. 3, 1475, m. Maria, dau. of John, Lord of Loon and Heinsberg, b. 1424, m. 1440, d. 1501 or 1502
  - Anna
  - Johanna
  - Adriana
  - Engelbert
- Henry II.
- Margaret
- William
- Maria
- Philip

**John V.**
b. Nov. 9, 1455, d. July 30, 1516,
m. Elizabeth, dau. of Landgrave Henry of Hesse,
m. 1482, d. Jan. 17, 1523

- Ottilie

- **Henry** b. Jan. 12, 1483, d. Sept. 13, 1538, m. 1. Frances, dau. of Duke James of Savoy, 1504, d. Sept. 17, 1511, m. 2. Claudia, dau. of Prince John of Chalons and Orange, 1515, d. May 31, 1521, m. 3. Menzia of Mendoza, 1524
  - **Réné** b. 1518, Prince of Orange, 1530, d. July 15, 1544, m. Anna, dau. of Duke Anthony of Lotharingia, 1540, she m. 2. Philip of Aerschot, d. 1568
    - Maria b. 154–, d. three weeks after birth
  - (2) Adolf b. July 11, 1540, d. May 24, 1568
- John b. Nov. 3, 1484, d. after July 13, 1491
- Ernest b. April 9, 1486, d. Oct. 21, 1486
- **William** b. April 10, 1487, d. Oct. 5, 1559, m. 1. Walpurge, dau. of Count John of Egmont, 1505, d. March 7, 1529, m. 2. Juliana, dau. of Count Botha of Stolberg, and widow of Count Philip of Hanau, 1531. d. June 18, 1580
  - (1) Elizabeth b. Oct., 1515, d. Jan., 1523
  - (1) Magdalena b. Oct. 6, 1522, d. Aug. 18, 1567, m. Herman, Count of Moers and Nuenar, 1538, d. 1578
    - (2) Anna b. Sept. 21, 1541, d. Feb. 12, 1616, m. Albert, Count of Nassau-Saarbrück, 1559, d. Nov. 11, 1593
    - (2) Elizabeth b. Sept. 25, 1542, d. Nov. 18, 1603, m. Conrad, Count of Solms-Braunfels, 1554, d. Dec. 27, 1592
    - (2) Catherine b. Dec. 29, 1543, d. Dec. 25, 1624, m. Gunther, Count of Schwarzburg, 1560, d. May 15, 1583
    - (2) Juliana b. Aug. 10, 1546, d. Aug. 31, 1588
    - (2) Magdalena b. Dec. 15, 1547, d. 1630, m. Wolfgang, Count of Hohenlohe, 1567, d. March 28, 1610
    - (2) Henry b. Oct. 15, 1550, d. April 14, 1574
  - (2) Hermanna b. Aug. 9, 1534, d. soon after
  - (2) John VI. b. Nov. 22, 1536, d. Oct. 8, 1606
    - (reigning family of Holland)
  - (2) Louis b. Jan. 10, 1538, d. April 14, 1574
  - (2) Maria b. March 18, 1539, d. 1599, m. William, Count de Berghes, 1556, d. May 24, 1586
  - (1) William b. April 25, 1533, Prince of Orange, 1544, d. July 10, 1584 (for family see table Vol. II.)
- **Elizabeth** b. 1488, d. June 3, 1559, m. John, Count of Wied, 1506, d. 1533
- **Maria** b. Feb., 1491, d. after 1542, m. Jodocus, Count of Holstein-Schaumburg, 1506, d. June 5, 1532

It is, of course, impossible to give the history of Otto's descendants here. Suffice it to say that his son Henry, grandson Otto, and great-grandson John, successively made rich marriages which added land to the family acres, put gold into their coffers, and permitted them to wear new titles. Estates that were divided, were reunited on the failure of heirs male in some branches of the family, and there was a steady increase of wealth and power from one generation to another.

Otto II. (1315–1351) did indeed leave his affairs in a bad way, mortgages on much of the landed property, and unpaid debts to boot, but by the wise management of his widow Adelheid during the minority of his son John, the mortgages were paid off and all pecuniary embarrassments cleared. Adelheid was herself an heiress, and brought Vianden as her dowry. Otto's marriage with her was one of the first of the advantageous alliances which added so much to the resources of the Nassaus.

During the above mentioned period there were many feuds with neighbouring nobles, chiefly with successive members of the House of Hesse, and a few bitter contests with the emperor. City privileges were granted to Dillenburg, and in 1384 John obtained permission from the emperor to establish a court of law under his own jurisdiction.

In John's lifetime there seems to have been a passion rife in the land for confederations of all kinds. He belonged to the *Sternerbund*, formed to further a private claim of the Duke of Brunswick; to the confederation of the *Alte Minne*, a league

against Hesse *; to the *Society of the Lions*, whose object was the same; and to the *Society with the Horns*, a defensive league among the Rhine nobles.

John married Margaret of the Mark, and died in 1416, leaving to her children an unincumbered inheritance. The eldest son, Adolf, had no heirs, and John, the second, would not marry. Engelbert, the third son, who had taken religious vows at an early age, therefore abandoned his profession and returned to the world. Fortunate it was that he did so, for his marriage with Johanna, only child of John, Lord of Polanen and Leck,† brought the Netherland estates into the family, and enabled Engelbert to take a prominent position at the court of Burgundy, within whose circle the estates lay.

While Engelbert's life was spent in Lower Germany, John of Nassau ruled over the family estates on the east side of the Rhine. He lived in such a constant state of warfare with his neighbours, that he was known as John with the Helmet, as he never even found time to divest himself of his warlike headgear. He was no statesman, but he seems to have been one of the picturesque characters that leaves an imprint on their surroundings, and many legends concerning his prowess are still extant in the neighbourhood of Dillenburg.

Engelbert died in 1442, a year before John, and at the death of the latter without children, the whole

* Whoever had a quarrel with Hesse could count surely on assistance from John of Nassau.

† The town of Breda in Brabant was part of this property, and became the headquarters of the Netherland Nassaus.

inheritance fell to Engelbert's two sons, John and Henry. After a joint rule of three years, they made a division, John taking the lands west, and Henry those east, of the Rhine. All, however, came into John's hand in 1450, on Henry's death, childless. Since the time of his grandfather, John I., the property had more than doubled, and John IV., further enriched it by his marriage with Maria, heiress of Loon and Heinsberg. In 1475, he died, leaving his sons, John and Engelbert, joint heirs to all. They divided the lands by agreement, retaining some estates in common for the sake of the titles, and the territory thus partitioned was not again united until the death of William III. of England in 1702.

It was stipulated, that on failure of heirs male to either brother, the sons of the other should inherit from their uncle. Similar arrangements were made between successive pairs of brothers in the Nassau-Dillenburg family, and were always carried out peaceably. Although lawsuits were constant occurrences if the slightest issue arose with the neighbours, the family relations always remained amicable, complex as the holdings came to be.

In accordance with this compact, which gave the Nassau property to the elder, and the Netherland estates to the younger brother, John, fifth of the name, lived at Dillenburg, while Engelbert II. made Breda his headquarters, though he was there but little, as his life was passed in the service of Charles the Bold of Burgundy and his successors. Engelbert was thus the political ancestor of William of

Orange. He was a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and took a prominent part in the most important political negotiations of the day, a day when much parleying was the fashion, though it often happened that both parties ignored their solemnly given word.

Engelbert accompanied Charles to the fatal battle of Nancy, 1477, and was taken prisoner by the Swiss. During the period of uncertainty as to his fate, his wife, Zimburge, promised a certain shrine a candle, weighing as much as her husband cased in complete steel, if he returned in safety. Whether she fulfilled this promise is not recorded, but Engelbert's return was at the best costly, for the Swiss were in a position to enforce their claim, and a heavy ransom had to be raised by hook or crook.

Engelbert's influence in Burgundy did not wane at Charles's death and Mary's accession. He was influential in negotiating the marriage of the young duchess with Maximilian, and was one of the foremost nobles in the court during Mary's life and the minority of her young son, Philip, to whom Maximilian was a jealously guarded guardian. Sometimes Engelbert followed Maximilian in his many fruitless expeditions, and sometimes he remained to administer the home government, at a time when such office was no sinecure, as discontent was constantly rife in a land where a citizen population were continually called on by an alien lord, whose claim to their obedience was based simply on his marriage, to grant large sums to support causes in which they had no interest.

In 1487, during a French campaign, when Engel-

bert was bearing an active part in the field, he was again taken prisoner, and only obtained his freedom at the end of a year and a half, for a ransom of 84,000 francs. To complete this large sum he was forced to mortgage the territories of Vianden, St. Vit, and Daesburg to his brother John. After his release, he negotiated the treaty between Maximilian and Charles VIII., of France, finally signed at Frankfort, July 22, 1496.

A little later, he arranged an accord between the revolted states of Flanders and Maximilian, and shortly after Maximilian's accession to the imperial crown in 1493, Engelbert successfully concluded a commercial and friendly treaty between him and Henry VII. of England.*

Such is a brief sketch of one member of the House of Nassau, who was undoubtedly among the foremost statesmen of the day. His fifty-three years of life, about the age to which the Netherland Nassaus seemed limited, were active and busy as years could be.

Zimburge, his wife, daughter of the Margrave of Baden, had no children, and at Engelbert's death, in 1504, his estates passed, in accordance with the compact, to his eldest nephew. John had quietly administered affairs in Nassau, while his brother was

* Unfortunately, high as was Engelbert's reputation as a statesman, it is not quite free from blemish. During his administration as stadtholder in the Netherlands an insurrection occurred in Bruges, which he succeeded in promptly quelling. The insurgents were pardoned, but Engelbert excepted fifty rich merchants from the pardon, in order to force them to redeem their lives by heavy ransoms. Out of the sums thus obtained he built the Nassau palace at Brussels.

playing a more brilliant part on a larger stage. He did not take any position in imperial affairs, except that he occasionally acted in Engelbert's behalf when the latter was abroad on a diplomatic errand, engaged in active military service, or detained as a prisoner.

Narrow as his life seemed in comparison with that of his more famous brother, John was nevertheless fully as occupied as Engelbert. The imperial rule was slight at that period, and the emperor did little more for those subjects not bound to him by closer ties, than to impose taxes, to aid in raising armies for the prosecution of almost unceasing warfare.

German nobles of the first rank were almost supreme in their own estates, church matters alone being out of their jurisdiction. As a result of this exception, continual strife with ecclesiastics, whose interests clashed with those of the lords of the soil, was one of the baronial occupations. John did much for the advancement of his land and people by establishing courts at Siegen and elsewhere, by extending commerce, and opening mines. In 1511, he built a church and school at Dillenburg. Like his predecessors he indulged in numerous feuds with his neighbours, and it was probably in fulfilment of a vow, made in the event of his winning a suit with the Duke of Cleves, that John made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1484. John married Elizabeth of Hesse, and thereby prepared lifelong annoyance for his son William, as through her was derived the Nassau claim to a portion of the Catzenellenbogen estates, a claim contested for over half a century.

In 1516, John died, leaving two sons, Henry and William.* Engelbert had taken Henry under his protection at an early age, and initiated him into the life at the Burgundian court, where he was to follow in the footsteps of his uncle. In 1504, a few months before Engelbert's death, on his marriage with Francesca, one of those richly dowered brides so often chosen by the Nassaus, Henry was acknowledged as his uncle's heir, and formally renounced in favour of his brother William, the major part of his paternal inheritance in Germany.

Henry was a worthy successor to Engelbert, and his career was very similar to that of his statesman uncle; the younger man, indeed, having the advantage, inasmuch as his theatre of action was far larger than that of the elder. Shortly after Engelbert's death, the Netherlands fell as a heritage to him, who was also King of Spain, and soon became Emperor of Germany. Thus Henry's liege lord of Burgundy, to whom he owed fealty in virtue of his Dutch estates, had, as Charles V., a realm to which that of Charles the Bold was insignificant, and a power to which that of the visionary Maximilian was nothing.

During Charles's minority, Henry was associated for a time with William of Croy and Adrian of Utrecht as guardian, and after the reins of power were assumed by the youthful ruler, he became his valued adviser.

Owing to the influence he possessed through his German connections, Henry was most valuable to Charles in the imperial election of 1519, and Arnoldi

* See Appendix.

claims that the weight he threw into the scale turned the balance to Charles's advantage against Frederic of Saxony, whose pretensions were warmly urged by many of the electors.

The emperor never forgot the service then rendered, and showed his appreciation by keeping Henry in constant personal attendance, except when he distinguished him by leaving him in the Netherlands as his personal representative, or by sending him to a foreign court on a diplomatic mission.

Henry assisted at the chief diets held during his lifetime, and was thus present at Augsburg when the famous confession of the Protestant faith was drawn up. Charles presented him with the Latin original of that document, which was known to have been at Breda in 1563.

Born in the same year as Luther (1483), Henry was witness of the origin and gradual growth of the reformed religion, but he had not the slightest sympathy with the ideas he saw scattered broadcast by his contemporary over the land, to which his German brother became convert. There are several letters extant which he wrote to Count William, remonstrating against his leanings towards Protestantism before the new faith was adopted in Nassau.

Francesca, Henry's first wife, died without children, and her rich patrimony was returned to her family, except half her cash dowry, which fell to her husband according to the marriage settlement.

"Better luck" attended Henry's second marriage, as Arnoldi naïvely remarks. The count was frequently at the French court on various errands of

diplomacy, and in recognition of some signal service rendered on one of these occasions, Francis I. bestowed on him the hand of Claudia, sister to Philibert, Prince of Orange-Chalons. This marriage was more important in its results to the Nassaus than any since that of Engelbert I. with the heiress of Polanen and Breda, though Henry himself did not reap the advantages.

Philibert of Orange died without male heirs, having named as his residuary legatee Réné, son of his sister Claudia and Henry of Nassau. How Réné disposed of his heritage will appear later.

Claudia died young, and Henry had a third opportunity of making a powerful alliance. This time he chose a Spaniard, Menzia of Mendoza, and he added the title of Margrave of Zenette to his long list. Her death without children, however, obliged him to resign both dowry and title.

The count's possessions were largely increased by gifts, purchase, and confiscation, so that Réné succeeded to a far larger inheritance than had come to his father.

The air of their native Nassau seemed to suit the family better than that of the Netherlands, or perhaps the quiet, baronial existence was more conducive to longevity than the peripatetic life forced on the followers of the House of Burgundy. None of the prominent Nassaus lived to much past middle age, and had it not been for the flourishing German tree which stood ready to furnish new grafts to the transplanted Netherland branch, there would have been no Nassau to take the leadership in Holland when

the necessity arose for such a leader. Henry died in 1538, at the age of fifty-five, leaving one son as successor to his estate, but not to his name, Réné having become Prince of Orange in 1530.

Out of gratitude to his uncle Philibert, from whom he received the richest part of his inheritance, his customary signature was Réné de Chalons. His full title was: "By the grace of God* Réné, Prince of Orange, born of Nassau and Chalons, Count of Catzenellenbogen, Vianden, Dietz, Tonnerre, Pointhièvre, Charny, Lord of Breda, Diest, Warneton, Arlay, Roseroy, and Chastelbelin."

He assumed the arms of Orange and Chalons with the device "Je maintiendrai Chalons." William of Orange changed the Chalons to Nassau, but later the phrase became simply "Je maintiendrai," leaving the object of the verb to be supplied by the imagination.

The title of Orange, brought into the Nassau family through Réné, has become so thoroughly identified with them, and has played so important a part in their subsequent history, that a brief sketch of the little principality may not be out of place.†

* The Princes of Orange always laid great stress upon their right to use this phrase, showing that they held direct from God.—Arnoldi, ii., p. 240, *Geschichte der Oranien Nassauischen Länder.*

† The historical account of Orange is taken chiefly from the following books, and the description from a visit made to the town by the writer in the winter of 1890.

1. *Histoire des Protestants de Vaucluse et d'Orange.* Arnaud.
2. *Histoire de la Ville et Principauté d'Orange.* Bastet.
3. *Tableau des Princes et de la Principauté d'Orange.* Joseph de la Pise.

Orange, a name that has been so much more famous than the land it designated, was a little territory covering but 38,248.4 acres, situated in the south of France, east of the Rhone. The town is at longitude 44° + north and 45° east, and the land encircles it.

The county of Avignon lies around the province, except where the Rhone forms the western boundary. This tiny principality actually preserved at least a nominal independence of the French sovereign until 1713, when it was finally ceded to Louis XIV. as will appear later.

It is believed that Orange (Arausio is the earliest form of the name) was in existence at the time the Romans entered Gaul.* Under Roman rule it was evidently considered an important place, as is evidenced by the character of the ruins found. There is a Roman arch in good preservation, traces of a large amphitheatre, and a theatre built into a hillside—the most perfect of its kind existing, except that at Arles. Its seating capacity is ten thousand, and the acoustic properties of the roofless enclosure are so perfect that the lowest whisper on the stage is audible from every seat, a feature which the present *concierge* is proud to display, by repeating as many lines as the traveller will take time and patience to listen to from as many different places.

4. *Les Antiquités de la Ville d'Orange.*
5. *Les Comtes Dohna à Orange.*
6. *Un Touriste à Orange en 1870.*
7. *Géographie de Vaucluse.* Adolphe Joanne, 1885.

* The French guide-book states that it was a town of the *Cavares.*

There have been several successful modern representations on this ancient stage, the latest of which was in 1888, when the company of the *Théâtre Français* played *Œdipus the King* to an enormous audience gathered from all the country round.

In the sixth century, the barbarian tribes pressing down from the north drove out the Romans from Orange, as well as from the other cities in the provinces, to be in their turn driven out by the Saracens coming up from the south.

Jonckbloet has made a modern French version of an old Romance poem called *Guillaume d'Orange* or *Guillaume au Court Nez*, the hero of which, knight of the court of Charlemagne, performs wonderful deeds of prowess. It is he who rescued Orange, become the richest and most magnificent of the Saracen cities, from its pagan lords, married Orable, the Saracen princess, who aided him against her own kin in the siege, and received the principality from the hands of Charlemagne.

In the twelfth century, male heirs failed to the family founded either by this valiant hero or by some more commonplace noble of Charlemagne's court, and the Princess Tiburge, the last of her family, brought Orange as a dowry to her husband, Bertrand des Baux. In its turn the family of des Baux died out in the male line, and the principality passed through Marie des Baux to her husband Jean de Chalons, founder of the House of Orange-Chalons.

The successive lords of Orange, preferred as a rule to follow the fortunes of the emperor rather than of the French kings in whose realm their few paltry

acres were engulfed. Perhaps it was a simple desire to display their independence of one to whom geographically they seemed to owe allegiance. Be it as it may, the result of their choice was not happy for the principality, as whenever a Prince of Orange openly sided with an emperor, the ruling king of France immediately proceeded to confiscate the poor little land, defenceless in the absence of its lord. When Philibert followed Charles V. into Italy in 1525, Francis I. promptly confiscated Orange, and, in spite of its restoration being one of the points stipulated in the treaty of peace, delays ensued and Philibert died dispossessed of his sovereignty. In 1531, it was again seized on by Francis, and a special treaty was made at Compiègne for its delivery, in consideration of Réné's paying certain claims against the territory. The fulfilment of this agreement was delayed, and in 1542, a new war between king and emperor gave a pretext for not fulfilling it at all, so that Réné too was dispossessed at the time of his death in 1544.

There is not much to be told about Réné, as he died too young to have made any figure in the world. The slight mention of him in history gives an attractive picture of the young prince.* Like his father and maternal uncle, Réné passed his life in attendance upon the emperor. The continued hostility between the latter and Francis caused the frequent confiscations of Réné's principality and other estates on French soil, as his interests were too nearly identified with those of Charles for Francis to resist any

*See French poem in appendix.

plausible pretext of seizure. Consequently Réné had little opportunity for maintaining either Orange or Chalons. The treaty of Cambray, 1538, contained a clause stipulating the restoration of Réné's estates, and payment of all his hereditary claims against the French court. But before the conditions were fulfilled, hostilities broke out anew and the whole treaty was vitiated. Francis was then especially incensed against Réné for the active and successful part he was bearing in the campaign, and did not relinquish his estates until after his death. The prince, however, partially indemnified himself by the seizure of some French estates on Flemish soil.

In 1540, in spite of his youth, Charles had appointed Réné stadtholder-general over Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, at the same time investing him with the Order of the Golden Fleece. When war was declared in 1542, Réné again took the field and gained personal reputation, although Charles was unsuccessful in the earlier campaigns.

In 1544, war was waged fiercely, Charles's plan being to march down on Paris. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to obtain possession of Saint Dizier, a stronghold on the Marne. Réné was in command, under the emperor, of the besieging force, and when pressing up to the walls, July 17th, he received a severe wound, from the effects of which he died on the 18th, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.* He was mourned by the whole army,

* List of Réné's effects in camp: Anthony von Hocron, Réné's chamberlain, made an itemized inventory of his master's effects, which is interesting as showing an officer's wardrobe:

from the emperor down, Charles, indeed, being by his side when he breathed his last. In 1540, Réné had married Anne, daughter of Anthony, Duke of Lorraine. The only infant born of this marriage died three weeks after its birth in 1541.

Moved possibly by a presentiment of his coming fate, on June 20th, Réné had asked and obtained of Charles permission to make his will, in which he left all that he had inherited from his uncle Philibert to his little cousin William, eldest son of Count William of Nassau.

Thus the line of Nassau-Breda again became extinct, and in virtue of the agreement which had been repeated between William and Henry, the Netherland possession of the Nassau family returned to the German branch. Réné's will covered all he pos-

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First and foremost tnere was "His princely Grace's writing materials"—something that no sixteenth-century gentleman was ever without. There were eight coats, velvet, silk, and cloth, scarlet and black, some embroidered and some plain, besides a little coat of black damask, bordered with black velvet. There were nine doublets and hose of various styles, stuffs, and colors, eight cassocks (military coats), some with hoods and some without.

One night-gown of crimson satin and another one for summer, two night-caps without and two with, ear pieces, twenty-five shirts, embroidered and plain, but only ten handkerchiefs.

There were bonnets, hats, and caps, of velvet and silk. There was a silver beaker to warm the prince's shaving water; his camp bed was hung with scarlet, and there was a full supply of bed and table linen. There are rings and medals in abundance, his Order of the Golden Fleece, candlesticks, etc. The chamberlain gives a list of the horse trappings, and adds: "Here are the horses (twenty-eight and more), which I took back to Breda and delivered to Rosey, master of the horse."—*Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, Arnoldi, p. 44.

sessed, but was only necessary for the property he had acquired from the maternal side of his house. He left this to William and his direct or collateral male heirs, or, if they failed, to the heirs of his female heirs. It was on this clause that Prussia based her claim to Orange in 1702, when William's male line became extinct at the death of William III. of England.

## CHAPTER II.

### COUNT WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

WHILE these events were passing, Count William, brother to Count Henry, was playing the same stay-at-home rôle in Dillenburg that had been the part of their father before him.

Indeed, William's life was even quieter than that of John, who had waged active private war with his neighbours, and had made an adventurous journey to the Holy Land. His chief occupation was a lawsuit with his hereditary foes, the House of Hesse.

The hostilities that broke out periodically between the Nassaus and Hesses during many generations, were occasionally varied, perhaps patched up, by intermarriages. In one of these oases of good feeling, John V. was betrothed to Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Henry of Hesse-Marburg and his wife Anna, heiress to the estate of Catzenellenbogen. The marriage was solemnized February 11, 1482, when the bride was fifteen years old. Her dowry was sixteen thousand gold guilders from her

father and two thousand from her grandfather. After the death of her husband, she chose the Nassau house in Cologne as her dower house and there died in 1523.

The partition made at the time of Henry's adoption by his uncle Engelbert was ratified after John's death in 1516, and William stepped into the Nassau-Dillenburg inheritance as his father had held it, Henry only reserving his fraction of the ancestral castle of Nassau. August 29, 1516, William received the oaths of fealty first from his vassals in Siegen, and then from those in other parts of his little sovereignty. He had the right to assume all the titles of his brother's Netherland estates, but at first designated himself simply Count of Nassau, Vianden, and Dietz. Later he added Catzenellenbogen to the list, and was usually known as Count of Nassau-Catzenellenbogen. William was called the Rich, but what wealth he possessed was in the shape of land with its attendant claims, rather than in coin. Indeed the count found it by no means an easy matter even to fulfil the frequent requisitions made by the emperor, who was always looking for money in one corner of his broad domains to spend in another.

The origin of the lawsuit with Hesse, mentioned as absorbing Count William through so much of his life was as follows:

William of Hesse, brother to Elizabeth, wife of John V. of Nassau, died without heirs in the first year of the sixteenth century. His cousin of Hesse-Cassel succeeded him, but John of Nassau immediately put in a claim, in behalf of his wife, to that

part of the inheritance which the mother of Elizabeth and William had brought into the family, namely, the Catzenellenbogen estates, with which the Cassel branch of the Hesse stock had no connection.

For fifteen years John fought this suit. William took up the fight in 1515, and carried it on until June 30, 1557, when it was finally settled by means of a compromise between the parties.

During that long period of over half a century, no diet was held without the presentation of this cause; indeed, it may be said, the emperor never set foot within Germany without being urged either by the Nassaus or the Hesses to give a decision.

The Reformation came, passed through various stages, and was established, while the lawsuit still hung on, hampering both parties in their action on other matters, and costing in all several tons of gold.

For twenty years, the case lay before the supreme bench of the empire, but in 1520, Charles assumed personal jurisdiction over it, as came within his prerogative to do. He was not, however, in residence anywhere long enough to complete the hearing and pronounce judgment, and he entrusted it to a special commission. One of the delays in attaining an adjustment was that this commission could pronounce an opinion but not enforce it, and when a decision was reached, Charles was at the other end of his dominions, so that there was no one to carry out the provisions. Then the term of the commission would expire and all would have to be begun anew.

The final agreement concerning the contested property is in a voluminous document comprising many details. The decision was that the Hesses were to receive the main part of the landed estates, charged with the condition of paying Nassau an indemnity in compensation. The Nassaus were to bear the arms and title of Catzenellenbogen and the Hesses that of Dietz. If both William of Orange and his father died without heirs, the Hesses were to have the privilege of buying back the ceded lands if they so desired. Thus the suit ended and satisfied no one except the arbitrators!

While Count William was wearing his life out in this suit, and in various minor litigations to which joint holdings of property often gave rise, great changes were taking place in the empire.

In 1521, Count William assisted at the famous Diet of Worms, where Luther took his first public stand of opposition to Rome, and was greatly impressed by the Wittenberg monk, but he did not ally himself with the earlier Protestant movements.

Perhaps it was prudence, induced by the thought of his brother's position at the imperial court, or perhaps it was the question of his own Catzenellenbogen claim, which he was continually expecting Charles to settle, that made him loath to take openly a position displeasing to the young emperor. In the spring of 1526, young Duke Hans Frederic of Saxony, visited Count William at Dillenburg on purpose to urge him to enter the ranks of the evangelical party. After his departure he showered successive

issues of Luther's writings on the still hesitating count. With the first packet he wrote as follows:

"As I promised to send you some of Luther's writings, I herewith despatch as many as I can collect at this moment. Out of these, and with the help of God, I hope to make a good Christian of you."

Hans Frederic's hopes of gaining a proselyte were not fulfilled at once, but in 1528, Count William permitted the monks in the monastery of Thron to effect a reformation themselves, and to bring their influence to bear on the communities of Old Weilnau and Wehrheim.

Other changes came gradually, somewhat retarded by the efforts of the violently Catholic Philip of Nassau-Idstein, who opposed all the reformatory movements of Nassau-Dillenburg, Nassau-Weilnau, and Hesse, and, on finding how vigorous was the new belief, tried to introduce a *Simultaneum* or community of churches between the two religious parties.

In 1530, Charles presided in person at the Diet of Augsburg, whither Count William went in the hopes of getting a hearing on the lawsuit. When there he was persuaded to accompany the Count of Nuenar to try and bring John of Saxony to consent to an interview with the emperor. The mission failed and if Charles thought to gain an adherent to the waning party of orthodoxy by making Nassau his representative on this occasion, that hope, too, was unfulfilled. The Augsburg Diet, where the "Confession" was formulated which became the creed of the Lutherans, and possibly the interview with John of Saxony, strengthened Count William in his inclination to-

wards the new doctrine. It is possible that he thought it the winning side. Certainly just at that crisis, if a noble were not a devout Catholic, the idea of replacing the pope as the head of the spiritual affairs, with their attendant temporal interests, in his own principality, or estate, was a fascinating one. As soon as he returned from Augsburg, a change began to be manifest in the places under his immediate supervision.

The Dillenburg *Chronicle* says: "After the return of his Grace, religious and church ordinances were changed by Leonard Wagenar, and mass was abolished."

Still, even after this date, the reformation in the count's estates only proceeded step by step. Mass was occasionally said at Dillenburg as late as 1533 and many Romish practices continued to prevail. In 1531, William even procured an indulgence from the pope for himself and his family, permitting meat-eating in Lent, the erection of a movable altar, etc. At the same time he positively refused to accept the governorship of Würtemberg, offered to him by Ferdinand in that year, it being confiscated from a Protestant prince, and it looked as though he were still balancing between the two parties. In 1533, the year of the birth of William of Orange, the Count took two measures that showed he had cast in his lot with the reformers. He refused to join the Order of the Golden Fleece because an oath of allegiance to Rome was necessary, and he introduced into the churches of Siegen and Dillenburg the "Nuremberg Reformation," a confession which the Margrave of

Brandenburg had had drawn up in France. The preachers, however, chanced to be so ignorant and lazy that the new religion did not make marked progress, and Count William had the "Nassau Church Regulations" drawn up under his direction in 1536, to which he himself wrote an introduction. After mentioning the abuses that had crept into the services, he states that the "Nuremberg Confession" contained all that was needful, and adds:

"As we notice that you [addressing the preachers] have left the old people the usual leaven and yeast of their inherited fables, rather from simplicity than from stupidity . . . and as we are unwilling to permit this little flock, entrusted to us by God, to be longer robbed of His eternal word, so we have considered it necessary to come to the aid of your lack of judgment by a little explanation and instruction." *

Thus speaks the baron, now become pope on his own soil. It must be mentioned that in William's dominions, no compulsion in any direction was ever used. He simply attempted to introduce better instruction. German was to be the language employed at baptisms; before the celebration of communion, the pastor was to give a clear explanation of its meaning, and he was to be satisfied with a general confession of the congregation.

After the communion in both kinds, the mass might be celebrated in ordinary clothing and with "harmless" ceremonies. The elevation of the

* Arnoldi, iii., p. 179.

Host was forbidden. Private and week-day masses were forbidden. In churches where daily masses had been customary, there was to be a simple service of reading and explanation of epistle or gospel with prayer. In other churches a sermon was to be given on Wednesdays. The children were to be examined at least twice a year. The number of festivals permissible in a year was reduced to twenty-six. The remaining articles treated of the pastor's mode of life, church government, use of the German Bible, etc. There was also a special prohibition of superstitious consecration of things. It is plain that these regulations were given with authority, and that William had assumed full episcopal jurisdiction in his domains. The first superintendent of the Nassau churches was one Erasmus Sarcerius, who exercised a beneficial influence that was long felt in the neighbourhood of Dillenburg. His work was, however, checked by the Interim of 1548, which again threw church matters into a state of uncertainty.

To return to affairs at large. At the same Augsburg Diet in which the confession was formulated that became the platform of the evangelical party, Charles V. had declared that the adherents to that party should not be treated in a hostile manner if the old religion were re-established in their respective dominions within six months. This threat led to the formation, in 1531, of the League of Schmalkalden, a defensive alliance between Protestant nobles and some of the free cities. This measure convinced the emperor of their strength, and induced him to recognise the existence of the evangelical party, by con-

cluding with them the first religious peace, called the Peace of Nuremberg.

Count William was not one of the leaguers at Schmalkalden. In 1535, he accompanied John Frederic of Saxony to the court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, at Vienna, and then probably resolved to ally himself openly with them. Shortly after returning, at Christmas, 1535, Count William sent a formal declaration to the league, again assembled at Schmalkalden, of his willingness to join them, and to endorse all action hitherto taken. On the Monday after Epiphany, 1536, he signed a document to that effect. Philip of Hesse strongly opposed his admission, and let pass no opportunity of treating his Nassau opponent with indignity, though he gave a public promise to warn William if danger threatened him on account of his religion. The count did not receive due summons to the league's deliberations, owing probably to the machinations of Hesse. His name does not appear in any of the formal manifestoes. Finally, he declared that he would not share the responsibility of measures that were concluded without his vote, and thus chanced to escape being involved in the war of Schmalkalden, which proved so disastrous to his neighbours of Saxony and Hesse in 1547.

In 1548, William permitted the Interim to be read in the Nassau churches, dismissed his reformed preachers, and allowed the return of the priests. The Schmalkaldenists were defeated in 1547, at Mühlberg, and things looked dark for the Protestants. At this epoch, Granvelle, then Bishop of

Arras, made every effort to bring the count back into the church. One of the Nassau councillors, writing from a Reichstag at Ulm, March 29, 1551, says:

"I have heard from a certain trustworthy person that 'Dominus Arabatensis' (Granvelle) has been earnestly arguing with our lord, the count, about his change of religion, and that he answers firmly: 'Whether this be true or not, there are certain things relating to religion which trouble me greatly.'"

The Peace of Passau in 1552, was followed by the Religious Peace in 1555. This latter document, in which the emperor consented that each land's religious affairs should be regulated according to the will of its ruler, is the first paper of imperial importance to which the signature of Nassau-Dillenburg is attached. The result of this peace in Nassau was the immediate re-instalment of the evangelical preachers, while the synods and church visitations were again instituted, but William did not find the course of administration of spiritual affairs altogether smooth in all parts of his estates. The Bishop of Trier made continual efforts to exert his authority in Dietz. In this, oddly enough, he was aided more or less openly by Philip of Hesse, the most protesting Protestant of them all, but so good a hater withal, that he preferred to protest too little, if by so doing he could annoy his hereditary enemy, with whom he was avowedly at peace. A new cause of rancour between the two little neighbouring lands of Nassau and Hesse was, that the reform was not prosecuted in

the same spirit, Philip being Zwinglian in his ideas, and William entirely Lutheran, and the differences between these two branches of the reform were beginning to be as bitter as between Protestants and Catholics.

During the half century that William the Elder ruled, other changes besides ecclesiastical took place in the land. Feuds to the death became rare. Imperial taxes were introduced, instead of each noble being called on to furnish a contingent; and affairs took a modern aspect, instead of being regulated wilfully according to the spirit of the middle ages, then just vanishing into the past.

In a military sense, Count William cannot be reckoned among the great and distinguished men of his day. He accompanied his brother Henry to the early campaigns of Charles V. against France in 1511-22, being present at the siege of Mézières in command of a troop of cavalry enlisted by himself and Henry of Nassau-Beilstein. After this, William does not seem to have again taken an active part in the field, although Maximilian offered to take him, while Count John was still living, into his personal service as an equivalent for the whole contingent due from Nassau-Dillenburg. In the second war with France, Charles V. offered him command over all the foot soldiers of the army, Henry of Nassau being at the head of the cavalry. John Frederic of Saxony promised him six thousand guilders if he would enter his service. These and all similar offers were, however, declined. Still, he seems to have attained a high reputation for good

sense, as he was often chosen as the confidant, adviser, and mediator for the chief princes of the empire in weighty affairs, and accepted minor diplomatic missions while declining military trusts. The stories of his negotiations do not belong in a history of his son, but the fact that William the Elder was frequently selected for such purposes shows that he was counted among his contemporaries as a man of sound judgment and of as unprejudiced a mind as it was possible to find in that epoch of party spirit and personal bias. It is indeed somewhat strange that, with a well known talent for settling other people's difficulties, and with his undoubted influence at court, his own important case hung fire so many years. In October, 1559, Count William died, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in the quaint little church at Dillenburg, built by his father and transformed under his own hand.

Arnoldi ranks him among the great men of his generation, and considers him one of the foremost rulers of the House of Nassau. The latter statement is undoubtedly true, while I think the former cannot be rightfully claimed. It was left to his son to become William of Nassau, the father being known as William the Elder. In the history of Germany his name does not come to the fore in connection with the important events that were then happening, and only appears on one of the many proclamations for which the period was famous. It is not mentioned as are the names of the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse. The interests which

absorbed him were of a private rather than public nature. He was not a statesman of Germany, but an administrator of his estates in the county of Nassau. It must be admitted that the part he attempted to play was well done, though confined to a provincial stage. It would, indeed, be difficult to picture a more complicated situation than that in which William found himself during the many years that he was the head of the family.

Between the two powerful factions into which Germany was divided by religious and political opinions, attached to each by certain circumstances, independent of both in certain respects, often obliged to sacrifice, if not his religious convictions, at least his theological inclinations, to the political interests of his house, threatened now by one party and now by the other with the loss or devastation of his lands, this was the labyrinth through which Count William wound with prudence and steadfastness. He succeeded in keeping war, with all its ruinous concomitants, from his territory, and bequeathed to his sons his paternal inheritance considerably augmented by the gain of the lawsuit, which he had fought against a powerful adversary during so many long years.

His relations with his subjects were, according to Arnoldi, exceedingly pleasant, he always showing careful consideration for all their interests. There was no fanaticism in the manner in which the Reformation was conducted in his domains. Slow in adopting the new religion, he clung to the faith of his forefathers after his neighbours had cast it aside

like a worn-out garment; he did not fly to the other extreme as converts occasionally do. He was essentially moderate, and exercised toleration in every change he introduced. The priests who refused to adapt themselves to the new "church regulations" were treated with consideration and in many cases pensioned. A brotherhood of beggar monks was banished from Siegen, but that was not exactly a Protestant measure, as this harsh treatment was fully justified by the unruly conduct of the brothers, and was approved by the emperor.

William, certainly, was not one of the nobles who used the Reformation as the means of increasing his income. No church or monastic property was converted to worldly uses, and care was taken that all ecclesiastical revenues should be properly applied to communal purposes.

The Nassau tenants were fortunate in having a lord who endeavoured to lighten their taxes as much as possible and to lessen their contributions to the imperial impositions, which were frequent at this epoch. In spite of the embarrassments in which he often found himself on account of the heavy expenses constantly entailed by the Catzenellenbogen lawsuit, he was always ready to give assistance to his dependants.

# CHAPTER III.

## BIRTH OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

### 1533–1551.

COUNT WILLIAM married twice. His first wife was Walpurge, daughter of Count John of Egmont, whom he wedded in 1505, when he was but eighteen years old and she somewhat younger. Two children were born, but only one daughter, Madeleine, lived to maturity; she became the wife of Count Herman of Nuenar in 1538.

Walpurge died in 1529, and the question of her successor seems to have been at once mooted in the family. In October, a few months after her death, Henry of Nassau wrote to his brother, suggesting various princesses of Lorraine, Würtemberg, and Saxony as desirable *parties* for him. Haste, however, does not seem to have been a characteristic of William in any action, and he showed his customary deliberation here, by waiting two years before taking a new countess.

In 1529, the year of William's widowerhood,

Count Philip of Hainault died, leaving William guardian to his five children and executor of his will. It was the second time that Count William had been called upon to assume the government of Hainault temporarily, as he had been guardian to Philip under the will of his father, Reinhard, and he had held the stadtholdership of the province during Philip's minority. It was he who had arranged the marriage between young Philip and Juliana of Stolberg, when the bride and groom were respectively nineteen and fifteen years old and Count William himself but thirty-three. It speaks well for the young guardian's tact and effective management, that the ward should leave his young wife and family in his charge. William undertook the duties, and two years later, in 1531, married the young widow and took all his wards to be educated in his own household.

A *chatelaine*, or lady of the castle, was evidently very necessary at that period, and the post was by no means a sinecure. Spinning, weaving, and tailoring were done under the castle's roof, and these were no small items when the retainers were numerous. Then, in the absence of adequate inns, a vast amount of entertaining was enforced on every German noble, at an epoch when imperial diets were held now in one city and now in another, and when the exigencies of almost unceasing warfare gave occasion for much travelling. Dillenburg lay on one of the routes from Brunswick, Brandenburg, and other provinces of the north-east, to Frankfort, where much business was transacted. In 1488, according to the Dillenburg

*Chronicle*, Henry, Duke of Brunswick, arrived at the castle with a retinue of one hundred and thirty-four horse. Later, Eric of Brunswick made a visit, accompanied by fifty, and the Margrave of Thuringia arrived with one hundred and fifty retainers.

On occasions of marriages and funerals, relatives to a remote degree of kinship gathered and had to be lavishly entertained. Before the Reformation the number of guests at a funeral was very large.

The housekeeping in Dillenburg was not always as careful, apparently, as was necessary in those rambling structures. For, in the same chronicle, there is a record of a rat slaughter in 1511, when one Gerhard of Langenbach, and several other lads, killed three hundred and eighty-two rats, for which Gerhard received 1 florin, 8 alb. and 8 pfennigs. This was before the time of Countess Juliana. It may have been that the family had been living on some one of the estates, leaving Dillenburg uninhabited for a time. At one time Count William was often at Siegen, but in the latter part of his life he seems to have made Dillenburg his permanent dwelling-place, for there all Juliana's children first saw the light.

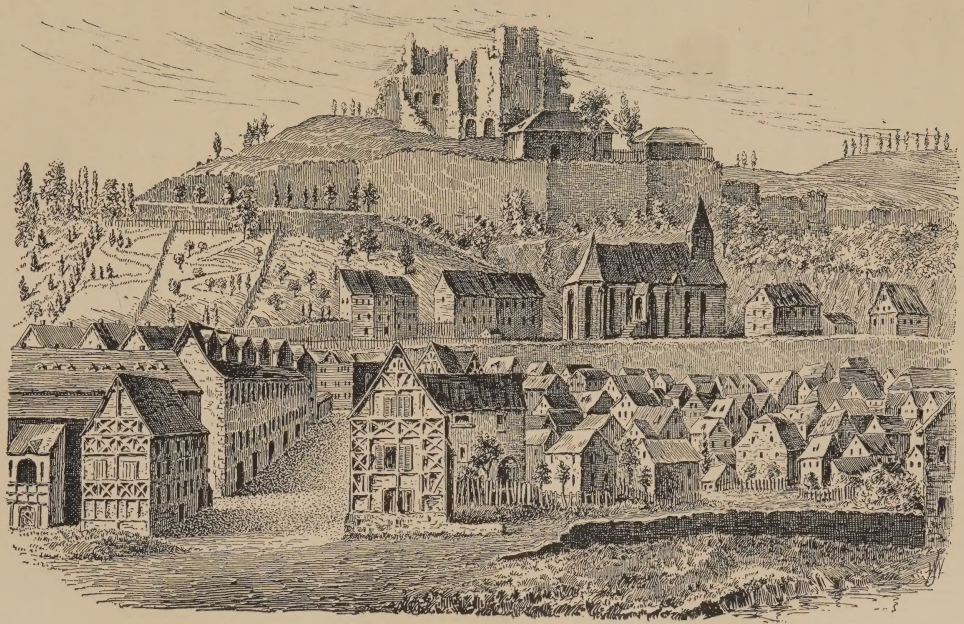
And there, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1533, the eldest son of Count William and Juliana was born. He received his father's name and there was not the slightest prospect of the younger William succeeding to a larger inheritance than that which the elder William could give him. Both Henry and Réné of Nassau were in full vigour, and the latter had not inherited the principality of Orange, a name destined to gain a world-wide reputation from the fame of him

to whom it afterwards gave a title. It lay with the young heir to make a career for himself, if he wished to do more than look after the welfare of his tenants.

Arnoldi gives no details of his early years, nor do I find them elsewhere. His childhood certainly was not a lonely one. It was the custom of the day to send noble youths to finish their education in some baronial or princely household of a rank higher than their own. Count William's modest court enjoyed so high a reputation that it was considered an excellent training school, and parents counted themselves fortunate did they succeed in placing their sons there. Thus in addition to Juliana's five children of Hainault, and the little brothers and sisters that soon shared the name of Nassau with William, there was a succession of lads from the families of the lesser Nassau nobles, so that the castle must have been full of young life.

In July, 1544, Réné fell at Saint Dizier, as has been related, and, according to his will, all his estates passed to his German cousin, William, then in his twelfth year. In virtue of a former agreement with his brother Henry, William the Elder might have claimed the Nassau portion of the property as duly lapsing to him at his nephew's death, and not within Réné's power to dispose of by testament. But Réné had obtained special permission from Charles V. to make a will,* with assurances that its conditions would

* As Orange said in his *Apology*, no one dreamed of objecting to his will but President Schoore, who said in council that a son of a heretic ought not to succeed. [*Filius hæretici non debit succedere*]. The above mentioned *Apology* (1580) is fully described in a later chapter.



DILLENBURG CASTLE IN 1825.

be fulfilled, and Count William considered it safer to abide by imperial sanction and not jeopardise his son's succession to Réné's maternal inheritance by questioning in the slightest degree his nephew's testamentary control over all the estates he had enjoyed. In behalf of his son he therefore accepted the bequest as it stood.

In consenting to the provisions of this will, the emperor had stipulated that the young heir should be educated at his court. It seems somewhat strange that William, avowed Protestant as he was by that date, should have agreed to have his eldest son brought up at a court where he would be obliged to conform to the religious observances that he had himself abandoned. According to Groen van Prinsterer, the fact that Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, was reported to be inclined towards Lutheranism made Count William willing to accede to the emperor's condition, as the boy was to be in her household during her brother's absence. Pfister, in his *Geschichte der Teutschen*, states * that she had adopted the reformed religion, kept Lutheran preachers in constant attendance, and always had a German Bible in her pocket even when out hunting. That she was an avowed Protestant is hardly probable; no member of the Austrian family would have ventured to resist the dominant elder brother to that extent. A request to her to dismiss all her German domestics, was on the ground that they might be tainted with heresy and introduce false ideas among his innocent Netherlanders. If this

* (Vol. iv., book iii.)

remonstrance were really directed towards Mary herself, it is wonderfully gentle. Whatever interest Mary might have evinced in 1531, when she entered on her duties, she did not espouse the cause of reform further, and in 1544, when the Prince of Orange came to her she was observing all church forms.

I think that Protestantism for itself was never a vital question with William the Elder. He saw the advantages of reform but never cared for it in a way to make him sacrifice important interests, and insisting on Protestantism at this point would have been very injurious to his son's prospects.

Count William himself went with the young prince to Brussels in September, 1544, only two months after Réné's death, so that apparently the affairs of the succession were more speedily arranged than such matters often are. According to the Dillenburg *Chronicle*, they were accompanied by the Count of Nuenar and the Cologne Coadjutor Adolf, executor of Réné's will, and it is to be inferred that no difficulty arose in the settlement of the estate, as none is recorded. Count William shortly returned to Dillenburg and the young prince remained at court, living chiefly in Brussels. Charles seems to have taken more pains with his education than with that of Philip, for William spoke five languages * fluently, while Philip could only express

* Many of the drafts of letters are in his own hand. His French spelling is more uniform than that of some of his contemporaries, though he had an odd fashion of introducing an *h* into words as *habbandon*, *fachon*, etc.

himself in his native tongue and a little bad Latin. Jerome Granvelle, a younger brother of the cardinal, was appointed his tutor,* and the relations thus formed with the Granvelles seem to have been very intimate, and the prince continued on very warm terms with the cardinal until shortly before the rupture between Granvelle and the Netherland nobles.

When Charles was in Brussels, he showed great interest in and affection for the boy, successor to the faithful servants of his house for so many years. He is said to have kept him by his side while holding the most important audiences, and to have treated him confidentially beyond his years.

Unfortunately none of the letters are preserved which the prince must have written home during the seven years he served as page in Mary's court.

* The first letter now extant concerning the prince, is one from his father to the Bishop of Arras, July 9, 1549, expressing his satisfaction about Jerome's appointment as tutor to his son. At the same time Count William took the opportunity to request Granvelle to stir the emperor to some action in regard to the Catzenellenbogen suit.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PRINCE'S APPRENTICESHIP—MYTHS.

1551.

WHEN the prince was eighteen, he was married, July 7, 1551, to Anne of Egmont. His position at that time was as brilliant as any youth could wish, as he was in full favour at the court of an emperor scarcely past middle age, was young, accomplished, rich in his own right, and bore the title of an independent prince. In short, he was an eminently desirable son-in-law. The bride was daughter to Maximilian, Count of Buren, one of the emperor's most valued generals. In acknowledgment of distinguished services, Charles offered to make him a duke. Finding, however, that no pecuniary emoluments were to accompany the title, Maximilian declined the offer, saying that he preferred being a rich count to a poor duke, and asked that instead of a higher rank he might have the Prince of Orange as husband to his only daughter, to whom he would give a handsome dowry. The emperor consented, and the marriage was solemnized at once, and the young pair set up housekeeping on a

splendid scale. There are many rumours about the unhappiness resulting from this alliance, it being even alleged that William was unkind to his wife; indeed there is an accusation that he poisoned her. Unless the prince were a consummate hypocrite at nineteen, this must be completely false. Twenty-two of his letters to her are extant, and they are all exceedingly pleasant, affectionate, rather boyish effusions, written in a simple style and free from epistolary flourishes.

In 1551, Maurice of Saxony formed an alliance with Henry II. of France against the emperor, in order to resist imperial encroachments on German liberty in general, Charles having attempted to reduce the nobles to a state of "beastly [literally cowish] servitude," and specially to force the liberation of Philip of Hesse and Frederic of Saxony, detained close prisoners since the battle of Mühlberg in 1547. There was a certain Marshal de Vieilleville prominent in the courts of Francis I. and Henry II., whose memoirs, written by his secretary, Vincent Carloix, form one of the sources of French history of that period. The style is very bright and lively, though doubtless when the secretary's memory was at fault he did not hesitate to draw on his imagination for picturesque details. He gives a minute account of an embassy of the Germans in 1551, to Fontainebleau, to broach their plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive. According to him, the Duke of Symerch and the Count of Nassau were at the head of this embassy, the count being accompanied by his son William, Prince of Orange, and this statement is repeated, or referred to, by many historians.

Now, if any marked characteristic stamped Count William, it was that of prudence, and having been so fortunate as to have escaped being involved in the war of Schmalkalden, it is not at all probable that he risked his own interests and those of his son by so open an act of hostility to the emperor as this expedition to Fontainebleau. Moreover, one of the avowed purposes of Maurice's alliance with France was to free Philip of Hesse, Nassau's hereditary foe and lifelong opponent. Now, William had certainly not taken advantage of the imprisonment of his enemy to seize on his Catzenellenbogen lands, but that was one kind of magnanimity, and a distinct effort to set him free was another.

Whether true or not, the story is too precise to be passed over in silence, and is as follows, necessarily condensed, pity as it is to deprive the narrative of the prolix embellishments of the French original.*

The Count of Nassau had accompanied the Duke of Symerch because he was well acquainted with the affairs, people, and needs of Germany, and also because French was as familiar to him as his native tongue. Vieilleville made the first visit of ceremony to the ambassadors, and on his departure, Nassau begged permission to escort the marshal to his lodgings, mentioning, as an explanation of his wish to have more intimate conversation with him, that he was related to the marshal. Vieilleville says he has no relatives in Germany, and Nassau then asks him

* "Mémoires de la Vie de François de Scépeaux, Sire de Vieilleville et Comte de Duretal, Maréchal de France," in Petitot's *Collection Complète des Mémoires Relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1822, t. 26, p. 353 *et seq.*

if he is not connected with the House of Orange. Vieilleville says yes, but since the death of Philibert he does not even know to whom the principality has fallen. William explains that his son is the present incumbent. Vieilleville embraces the count as a cousin, and insists that he shall send for the prince that he may embrace him too and enjoy the society of both at dinner. Nassau consents and mentions that it was only the desire for this same cousinly embrace that had induced his son to come with him.*

As they enter the tent, Nassau notices the arms of Orange on the quarterings of the shield embroidered on the blanket of a sumpter mule laden with extra provisions. This touches him so much that he again warmly embraces his newly discovered cousin, says he no longer wonders that his son has a French heart, adding:

"I think, if opened, a *fleur-de-lys* would be found there, for he talks incessantly of your king and your nation. I believe he would be well pleased to belong to the service of the French crown. I shall put no obstacle in the way, for he will never make his fortune in the service of the emperor. To do that one must be a Spaniard, and have nothing to do with our nation beyond necessity and to help along his plans."

Nassau then expatiates upon the way in which the

* The author has made an entire mistake in confusing Count William and his son with Count Henry and Réné, and he states that Philibert fell at St. Dizier, instead of Réné, but there is no doubt which prince is referred to, as in 1551, both Henry and Réné had been dead many years, and by the time the memoirs were written, William of Orange was a well-known figure in the Netherlands.

emperor had treated the German states and nobles, and adds that he heartily hopes that now Henry will take them under his protection from "Christian commiseration," they being akin to him, while the Italians, to whom he has shown such kindness and clemency, are but strangers.

"During this conversation the prince arrived. He was a young gentleman of modest and agreeable bearing, who without awaiting an introduction by his father, threw himself into the arms of M. de Vieilleville with a very humble reverence, telling him that what had made him undertake this journey was solely the desire to see him and to offer his services, knowing that he was the only ornament of the French court with whom he desired to live and die, on account of the reputation he enjoyed, and that under his influence he would gladly live and mould his youth.

"After thanking him, the marshal said: 'We were discussing making you a good Frenchman, the count, your father, and I, when you arrived, for he, not less than I, desires to have you change climate and party. It seems to us both that this would be advantageous to you, for a multitude of reasons which I will postpone telling you till another time (for time presses us to dine), the most important of which is that the estate whose name you bear is in France.'

"'That is true, indeed,' said the prince, 'but it is not the larger portion, nor the sixth part of my property that lies in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, there is one point which seems to urge me to accede to your desire, which is, that the Prince of Spain, without any apparent cause, cannot endure me, and it is impossible for me to please him, though I am unable to discover the cause of his

animosity, for I am not conscious of ever having offended him.'

"'You live, then, in great misery,' responded M. de Vieilleville, 'and you might as well abandon your rôle in the estates of the empire and of Spain, since he is heir to all.'

"'There is one thing more,' added the prince; 'some one, versed in horoscopes and revolutions of nativity, and who has marvellously sounded the depths of the science, has warned me that I am destined to die by his hand, or by a conspiracy plotted by him against my life.'

"'Then what are you thinking of, poor prince,' said M. de Vieilleville, 'that you do not hearken to the advice of your father and me; why, this very apprehension is quite enough to kill you, even if you believe that this soothsayer only means the kind of death you may imagine, which will keep you all your life in a mortal anguish, and will thus shorten your life.'

"'It is possible,' said the prince, 'but the intimate friendship which the emperor, his father, has for me, and the great favours shown me, have so bound me to his service that it is not possible for me to leave him, although I see death so near.'

"'That is enough,' replied M. de Vieilleville; 'had I known that was your last resolution, I would not have made any overtures, and I will not speak of it again as long as I live.'

After the dinner, to which other German nobles had been hastily summoned, as well as the prince, the count had a private interview with Vieilleville, urging him to bring the king to consent to the proposals of the Germans.

Vieilleville replies that there is nothing he desires

more than this alliance, which must bring glory to France, but he has little power with Henry, not being a Montmorency, nor even a member of the privy council.

The dinner guests depart, and that very night Vieilleville is summoned by the king and informed that he is received into the privy council. At the next meeting he boldly takes a stand against the other councillors who advise Henry to decline the offers, and speaks to such good purpose that Henry decides to enter into the alliance and become the champion of German liberty.*

The negotiations went on, and a treaty was made and signed, in which it was agreed that Henry should pay a certain sum † monthly to the Germans, who should immediately commence operations, while the French king was to take the field and create a diversion in Luxemburg and the marches of the Netherlands. It was further stipulated that he should retain possession of all the French-speaking cities that he might gain, and that after their own troubles were settled the Germans should help him recover Milan, his patrimony.

Before the departure of the embassy, after the successful termination of their mission, they were invited to Fontainebleau, one Sunday, about Octo-

* In the overtures made at this time to England, it was the cause of religion that was urged, and Edward VI. was implored to aid his fellow-Protestants. In treating with Henry II., however, the fact that his allies were of the very faith that he was trying to root out in France was totally ignored.

† 200,000 crowns monthly during the first three months of the war, and then 60,000 monthly as long as hostilities should last.

ber 20th. After partaking of refreshment at Chesnil, they were ushered into the large hall at Fontainebleau, "which they found," to resume the description in the memoirs,

"so richly adorned that they were filled with admiration. There were the coat-of-arms of the empire, but none of the House of Austria, together with those of the deputies from the imperial cities, and festoons, and marvellous abundance of gold and silver tinsel, which gave great lustre and splendour.

"His Majesty at last arrived, accompanied by his princes and lords, so richly dressed that they might all be taken for kings. His Majesty took the Duke of Symerch and the Count of Nassau aside to chat; the constable and princes took others with their interpreters. M. de Vieilleville turned to the Prince of Orange, who was seeking him, so that no one remained alone or unentertained while waiting for dinner to be served.

"When dinner was finished the ball commenced, at which the queen and all the court ladies appeared, so gorgeously attired that the Germans were filled with astonishment. After the royal dance in couples with which the king had led off, the German dances were played, because better understood by the guests, with an occasional galliard* to display to better advantage the disposition and grace of our French youth.

"After these, not one of the company presented themselves to assist in the figures that followed, except the Prince of Orange, who acquitted himself very dexterously and would have won the prize for the galliard if, with his postures, capers, turns and evolutions, his countless

* A sprightly Italian dance.

flourishes, gambols, agile bounds and springs, he had only kept time to the music."

The following day, the embassy set off on their return, laden with presents and full of devotion to the French king.

Such is the story, undoubtedly a romance made from whole cloth. Though it is frequently referred to, especially the description of the ball, with the gay dancing of the young prince whose character is so seldom associated with merriment and high spirits, the historians who give credence to it have evidently taken their account direct from Vieilleville, as Guizot, who quotes * some of the passages in full, and several minor writers who simply refer to the memoirs.

Von Ranke states † that this treaty of October 5, 1551, was made between Maurice and an agent of the French king, presumably on German soil, as the term "agent" implies some one sent to Maurice. He also says that the first overtures to this alliance were made as early as July, 1550, as soon as Maurice and Albert of Brandenburg had come to an understanding. It is far more probable there had been considerable cautious angling, and as cautious nibbling at the offered bait, before a definite agreement was arrived at. Unexpected embassies with plenary powers, and treaties signed and concluded within a few days, are facts only to be vouched for by historians like Vieilleville's secretary, who prefer dra-

* *Histoire de France*, iii., 226.

† *Zeitalter der Reformation*, v., 152 *et seq.*

matic episodes with speedy results, to a long course of "we will if you will, but we do not care to express our willingness until we are sure of yours," etc.

Martin * gives a brief account of the transaction very like that of Ranke, but Pfister, in the *Geschichte der Teutschen*, † frequently referred to by Groen van Prinsterer, relates the following story:

"Maurice and King Henry II. of France entered into an agreement together in such a manner that it was not known who took the first steps. A short time before, John Frederic of Saxony had declined an alliance with France as menacing the safety of the empire. But the desperate situation no longer permitted half measures. The French ambassador, Fraxinus, came to the lonely forest castle, Friedewald, in Hesse. Here the German princes, Elector Maurice for himself, and his ward, George Frederic of Brandenburg-Anspach, Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, and the young landgrave, William of Hesse, entered into an alliance, defensive and offensive, with Henry of France to attain imperial and religious freedom."

Then follows an account evidently taken from Vieilleville, concluding with this incident: "While the allies were in the act of concluding the compact, a flash of lightning with a loud thunder clap burst into the hall of Friedewald, which Fraxinus, according to the old fashion, took as a good omen."

It is highly improbable that the Count of Nassau

* *Histoire de France*, viii., p. 407.

† Vol. iv., book iii., p. 222.

played any part in this transaction, and still more improbable that he should have committed such an act of imprudent treachery as to involve his son in operations against the emperor and the imperial army in which he had just received his commission.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE PRINCE'S APPRENTICESHIP—EARLY CAMPAIGNS.

### 1551–1555.

IN the prince's eighteenth year begins the authentic story of his life. In September, 1551, he received his first military appointment and was made captain of two hundred horse.* In the following April, when he had just completed his nineteenth year, he received a second commission from the regent as colonel of ten companies of foot soldiers.† This was not an honorary colonelcy to enable the youth to wear a uniform while remaining quietly at court.

The alliance between Henry I. and Maurice of Saxony was a fact, although the story of its formation, as given in the preceding chapter, may be a fiction, and Charles V. needed the assistance of every

* *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange*, publiée par M. Gachard, archiviste général du royaume, membre de l'Académie royale des Sciences, etc., Brussels, 1850, vol. i., p. 473.

† *Enseignes de gens de pied*, Gachard, Cor., i., xvii.

loyal subject old enough to bear arms. The allies had arranged that Henry should march toward the Netherlands in the early spring, engage the imperial forces there, so that on opening hostilities, Maurice would encounter only the troops that Charles chanced to have with him in Germany. The most Christian king appeared with much ostentation as the defender of liberty, though new persecutions of the French Protestants were in progress, while he was valiantly espousing the cause of the ultra-Rhine Lutherans, "sadly down-trodden" by the oppressions of his most Catholic brother sovereign.

The emperor was at Innsbruck when the news was brought him that Maurice had thrown off his mask of loyalty and was in Thuringia prepared to attack his whilom master with the 2000 foot and 5000 horse he had secretly collected. Charles was completely taken by surprise * and escaped hastily from Innsbruck to Villach, where he paused to consider what course to pursue.

Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands in behalf of her brother, was directed to repel the attack of the French king on her frontiers, but Charles hoped more from negotiation than from conflict with Maurice, and did not himself take immediate action.

In the early spring of 1552, the regent assembled all of her brother's forces that she could muster and prepared to meet the invaders † at all points along

* Robertson, *Charles V.*, iii., 65 *et seq.* One author states that he was disguised as an old woman.

† Maurice issued a manifesto declaring that he took arms to defend the true religion, to rescue the Landgrave of Hesse, to free Germany, and to prevent the emperor's attempt to erect a monarchy. This manifesto was accompanied by a letter from Henry II., saying that

MARY OF HUNGARY, REGENT OF THE NETHERLANDS.

the frontier which were undefended by natural boundaries.

William of Orange, under her command, advanced toward the border at the head of his ten companies. The French achieved unexpected success. Metz and Strasburg had yielded early in the year, before the campaign opened. Now Damvilliers, Yvoy, Montmédy, and other smaller towns surrendered. Orange was in a responsible position and kept up a close correspondence with the Regent Mary on minor points of military tactics, the soldiers' pay, preparations for review, etc. He also wrote continually to his young wife, who was acting as viceroy at Breda. Unfortunately none of her letters are preserved. His are pleasant, boyish notes, breathing solicitude for her and filled with little items of news on the progress of the campaign, which she evidently followed closely.

In June he was at Thorn, whence he wrote as follows to Anne*:

"My Wife: This is to inform you that yesterday I received letters from the queen, the kindest, I think, she

his heart was so torn by the condition of Germany that he had determined to lead his forces to the war in person, undertaking this, not for his private advantage, but for the cause of liberty. At the head of this document, printed in the vernacular, there was a cap between two poniards, around which was written that this was the device of liberty. Some say this device was found on ancient coins and already usurped by the murderers of Caius Cæsar. Thus it was a king who exhumed this terrible Phrygian cap of liberty, before which the ancient crown of France was destined to fall.—Martin, *Histoire de France*, viii.

* *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau.* Recueil, publié avec autorisation de S. M. Le Roi, par G. Groen van Prinsterer, Leyden, 1836, vol. i., p. 1.

has ever written to any one of any rank whatsoever, for she expressed her approval of my capacity, and wishes me always to display the same zeal, and assures me of her entire trust in me. I pray the Creator to give me grace to deserve this good reputation. I leave to-morrow for camp and shall sleep at a place called Tongres, where I must wait for five of my companies, hoping that our Lord will permit me to return in good health and reputation, so that we shall have better opportunity of enjoying each other's society. My wife, I beg you will make my excuses to Mmes. our grandmother and our mother for not having written to them. I will wait until later, for knowing no news now, I am afraid of boring them with my letters, but I will write as soon as I have anything to tell. In the meantime I beg you to present my humblest respects to all the company and pray you to give them such good cheer that they will bear you company in the country and keep you from the loneliness you would otherwise feel. Praying the Creator to give you all your desires, etc. Your very good husband,

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

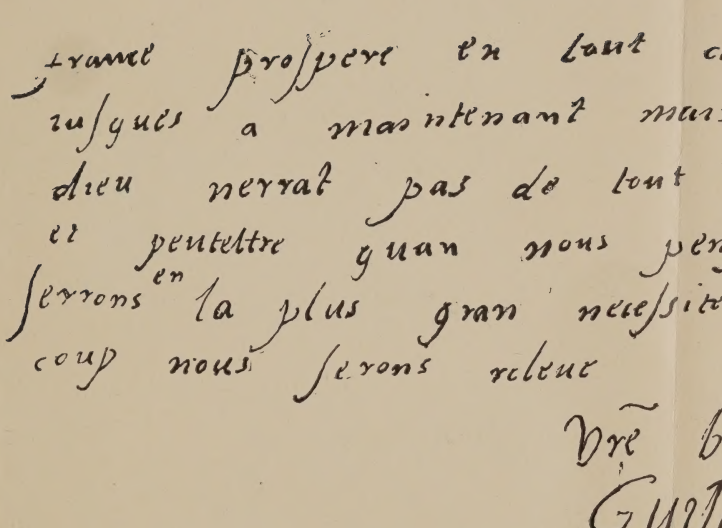
"To Mme. the Princess of Orange.

"From Thorn, June 7."

The young officer found camping no summer pastime, and grumbled freely over the various discomforts. The following note was written July 6th, when there seemed immediate danger of the French penetrating into Brabant*:

"MY WIFE: This is to inform you that I am in camp with seven companies, where we are very comfortable except that it is rather cold to sleep in tents. I think we

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 6.



FRAGMENT OF A LETTER OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO HIS WIFE.

will make an advance to-morrow, to prevent the enemy from entering Brabant. I can well believe that you are afraid, like the rest of the world, and that the fugitives from Brussels and elsewhere have infected you with their terror, but I hope there is no danger."

Affairs went from bad to worse. The question of supplies was a constant anxiety, disease flourished in the ill-organised camps among the ill-fed soldiers, while the poor natives of the soil suffered equally on the advance of either party, as neither Mary nor Henry had the slightest scruple in taking all they could get, or in burning any unoffending town that might offer a foothold to their opponent. Several notes from Orange to the princess give a picture of passing events.*

"My Wife: I received to-day two of your letters, and assure you that nothing more agreeable could happen to me than to have tidings from you and to be advised of your health, but I must tell you what news the queen has received to-day, which is that the galleys have arrived with a goodly number of Spanish soldiers, about nine thousand, and a supply of money, about two millions of gold. I hope now that the courage of the Germans and French will be dashed, . . . and that the agreement which is said to have been made between the emperor and the Duke Maurice will be broken. It will be much more profitable for our cause of Catzenellenbogen, for I hope that the emperor will remember the rest of us in case that he prospers, as I trust he will by God's favour, also according to the good omens that I see, for he has already assembled sixty-five companies of Ger-

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 8.

man foot-soldiers, who have followed the others to Ulm, and forty more are expected, besides the Spaniards who arrived in the galleys. Therefore I pray, have good courage and hope that we will succeed in our enterprise, and that we will make them stop their cackle.

"Your very good husband,

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

"From Mons, July 11th."

"We arrived here yesterday with all our cavalry and my regiment, to plan an ambush for the King of France, who is not far off, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Trelon and Chimay. We were in the saddle all this morning, hoping to capture some of the stragglers from his army, until we learned that he had retreated after demolishing the said Trelon and Chimay. There is a rumour that he is already over his own border. I do not know whether he means to give his men a little rest, which we hear they sadly need, as they are exhausted by the bad weather which they have encountered, and by the bad roads which they have had the greatest difficulty in passing, and in bringing their horses over. If he really retreats I will let you know.

"We shall depart to-morrow to rejoin the main army, and I have already sent my regiment on to le Quesnoy, whence they could return if it were necessary. I will not make this longer, as it is almost midnight; we have hardly slept for three days, and must be astir at daybreak.

"CAMP AT DORLE, July 15th, 12 P.M." *

No wonder that the style of this letter is not elegant under the circumstances. The experiences

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 10.

of that summer of 1552, were the reverse of agreeable. There were no pitched battles to give excitement, and the nagging guerrilla warfare was exhausting, without being interesting. Then there was one spectre which always haunted Charles's lieutenants, and which they found difficult to exorcise. There was a perennial money famine* in the camp exchequer, and payment to the soldiers was always in arrears. Charles was lavish in promises and assurances that money supplies were on their way from Spain, but the only coins ever seen by the army were those wrung from the unwilling Netherlanders and used to pay the Spanish troops.

Meantime the emperor was busying himself with negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Passau, called the Treaty of Peace, which was signed by Charles, August 21, 1552. The German nobles had assured Henry that they would make no accommodation with the emperor in which French interests did not stand first. When it came to the point, however, the only mention of their ally† was a short clause importing that the King of France might communicate to them any cause of complaint he had against the emperor. Henry, therefore, was by no means willing to relinquish the advantages he had gained, refused to withdraw his troops from imperial territory, and by September had made himself master of nearly all Lorraine. Mary, meantime, laid waste many villages in Champagne, in revenge for Henry's

* *Courtresse d' argent* is the term generally used in describing the condition of finances.

† Robertson, *Charles V.*, iii., 84.

successes, but did not gain a single strong place. As soon as Charles had the Passau negotiations off his hands, he began at once to make preparations for punishing Henry for his too active interest in his neighbour's affairs. The loss of Metz was especially galling to the emperor, and he determined to spare no effort to force its return. Early in September he approached the Rhine, in which Henry had already theatrically watered his horses, and Mary levied as many troops again as she already had, in order to send one detachment to augment the imperial army.

Orange made a special* request to be sent with the latter division, hoping to find an opportunity of pressing a speedy settlement of the Catzenellenbogen suit.

According to the terms of the pacification of Passau, Philip of Hesse had been set free, and the Nassaus thought they might rightfully hope to reap the advantage of their long forbearance during their neighbour's imprisonment, by securing now a fair settlement of the suit. Mary would not consent to alter her arrangement, and insisted on the prince's regiment going to Artois according to her orders, but suggested that some one else might be put in command, or that Orange might visit the emperor on leave. This offer did not meet the young officer's views. An expedition to make a direct request was one thing, while an appointment that would keep him near the emperor's person, and afford an opportunity of mentioning his private affairs at favourable

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 29.

moments, was quite another matter. He therefore declined the permission and set out to cross Brabant. The journey to Artois was full of difficulties, as the roads were bad, and the paucity of bridges across the Meuse necessitated a long detour.

In October the Prince reached Bouvignes, on the Meuse, and wrote to Mary from the castle of Crèvecœur, now a picturesque ruin. Before leaving Brussels, he wrote to Charles,* begging him, in remembrance of his ancestor's faithful services, as well as for the sake of one who had devoted his life to his emperor, to terminate the suit which had wearied William the Elder of Nassau during so many years. From Bouvignes the young colonel made his way to Arras, where he succeeded in doing such good service, that Mary wrote,† October 27th, especially to express her warm appreciation of his zeal, and to beg him to continue in the path of duty. There was often a pleasing uncertainty in regard to their future movements among the imperial officers, as may be seen from the following note:

"My Wife: This is to advise you of our arrival at Arras yesterday. I delayed writing to you in the hope of having some definite information in regard to our plans. One day we think we are to make another journey, and the next it seems probable that we are to be quartered in some good city to refresh our men and ourselves, which I should consider the better. Brederode and I here, Hoogstraaten and the Marshal of Guelderland at Douay, and the Duke of Aerschot at Cambray, are all waiting for

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 10.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 40.

the queen to decide whether to disband us or retain us in service and put us in garrison, fearing lest the French king may attack Hesdin, if he knew our force was withdrawn. I am pretty sure we shall be disbanded, because I think funds are getting low, and another thing that inclines me to that opinion is, that a review is ordered for day after to-morrow. I will not fail to advise you as soon as we hear from the queen, who cannot delay much longer. If we are disbanded, I will take you, please God, the news myself, and I wish that could be to-day rather than to-morrow, for I cannot express in writing my longing to see you. I feel as if I were a year in arrears with you. (Nov. 13, Arras.)"*

This fervent hope was fulfilled, and the prince's troops were disbanded at Valenciennes, November, 17th.

Meanwhile, the emperor had advanced towards Metz, and bent his energies to regaining it by siege. After his companies were dismissed, Orange curbed his impatience to see his wife, and started to pay his respects to Charles.† At Thionville he chanced to find a courier going back to Brabant, and seized the opportunity to send a few lines to the princess, saying that "Monsieur of Arras" advised him to spend a day with Charles, as he had come so near. He adds, that it was rumoured that the emperor would not stay long before Metz. The rumour proved true, and six days later Charles, disheartened at his lack of success, raised the siege, which had lasted fifty-six days, inflicting far greater injury on the besiegers

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 12.

† *Ibid.*, 14.

than on the citizens of the beleaguered town. Nearly three thousand men died of disease, or fell in the skirmishes which were a disastrous part of all those dreary sieges. This unsuccessful leaguer of Metz stands out in the history of the period as one of the few cases where chivalrous kindness was shown by the victorious party. The Duke of Guise actually provided the worn-out imperial soldiers left straggling along the road after the retreat of the main army, with what refreshments he could spare, and ordered French physicians to treat all those too ill to be carried to imperial villages.

Charles retired to Brussels, where he remained so quietly through the winter that his death was currently reported in France.* He was, however, only profoundly dejected at the events of 1552, which had been a twelvemonth of unpleasant surprises. When he abandoned the siege of Metz, he said that Fortune was a woman who plainly preferred a young king to an old emperor. Though apparently so quiet through the cold months, he was making preparations for taking the field again early in the spring. All other projects were as nothing to Charles, compared to his desire for vengeance on the French king. To carry out his schemes, funds were all important. He was expecting a supply of specie from America, but its arrival was delayed, and he accordingly demanded a subsidy from the Netherlands, which was reluctantly granted. Holland's share alone was 300,000 guilders, and her sturdy citizens were especially wroth at having to send that amount

* Rabutin, *Commentaries*, i., p. 183.

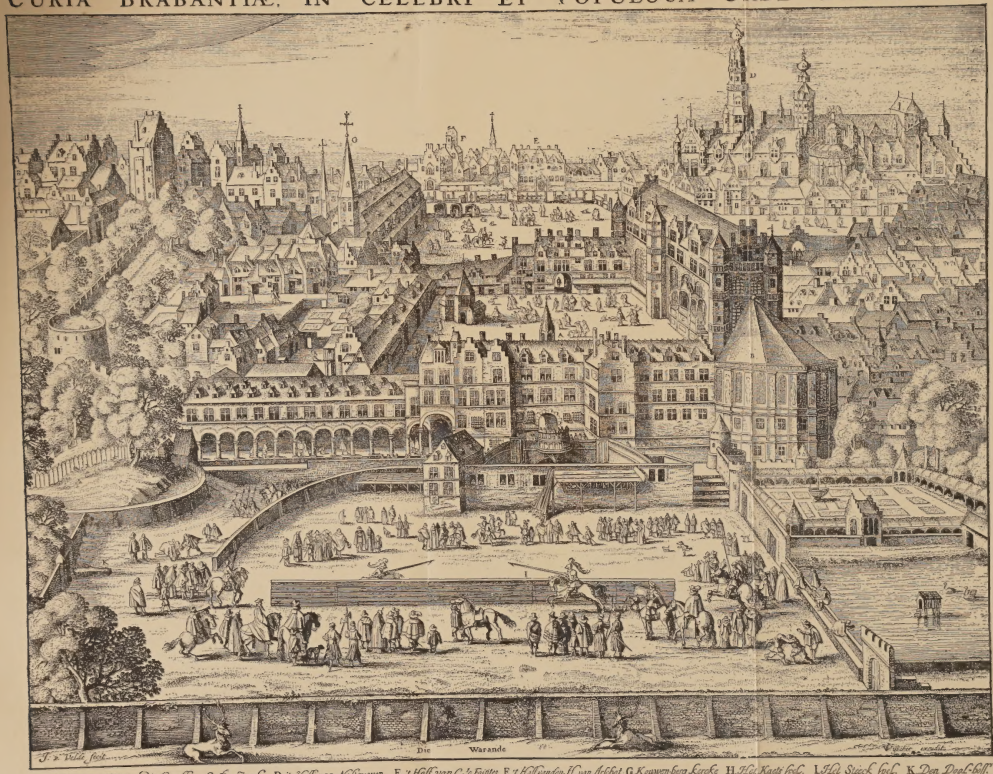
towards the frontiers of Artois, when their herring fishery needed protection.

In the early summer of 1553, Charles roused himself from his winter torpor, took the field, and fell upon the town of Thérouanne, which had been called one of the pillows upon which a French king could lay his head and slumber in peaceful security that his kingdom was safe.* This town Charles demolished so completely that he actually erased the name from the map of France. This success was most soothing to Charles's wounded feelings, and he indulged in tumultuous expressions of joy, in which the people of Brabant, ever ready for a festival, gladly joined. Henry II. was in Paris, celebrating the marriage of young Diana of Poitiers. These festivities were brought to an abrupt termination, and the French monarch made speedy preparations to reach his border and repulse the emperor.

Emmanuel Philibert, of Savoy, dispossessed of his paternal territory, was in command of the imperial army, and under him Orange served his second year of active service. The capture of Hesdin followed the fall of Thérouanne, but there was no other decisive action, and the summer months were spent in futile skirmishing. The French tried, indeed, to lure Charles to an issue, but, as he feared a defeat above all things, he skilfully evaded a battle. He stole over the French border with quiet advances, and succeeded in nearly reaching Amiens, doing great injury to the poor folk of Artois and Picardy, who suffered cruelly from the ravages of both armies.

* De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, xi.

CURIA BRABANTIÆ. IN CELEBRI ET POPULOSA URBE BRUXELLIS.




*Hst Konings Hoff B. Die Capelle. C. De Zael. D. 't Hoff van Nassouwen. E. 't Hoff van C. de Fuentes F. 't Hoff vanden H. van Arschot G. Kouwenberg Kercke H. Hst Kaetz fecit. I. Hst Stuck fecit. K. Den Doel Hoff.*

L'ANCIEN PALAIS DES DUCS DE BRABANT. — D'après une ancienne estampe. (*Collection de M. Th. Hippert.*)

A. Le Palais. — B. La Chapelle. — C. La Salle. — D. L'Hôtel de Nassau. — E. L'Hôtel du comte de Fuentès. — F. L'Hôtel du duc d'Arschot. — G. L'Église de Coudenberg. — H. Le Jeu de Paume. — I. La Place aux Joûtes. — K. Le Labyrinthe. — Die Warande (le Parc).

DUCAL PALACE IN BRUSSELS.

In October the season turned cold, and the soldiers were withdrawn to winter quarters.

During the winter of 1553–4, Charles was occupied in negotiating the marriage of Philip with Mary of England, an alliance that boded little good to the Netherlands, while Orange's duty was to make arrangements for new mercenaries to be in readiness for the spring campaign. The Germans were unwilling to pledge themselves for future service, unless they received a retainer to clinch the bargain and help them through the winter. Queen Mary had a thrifty mind, and thought a munificent promise of future pay far better than a present penny. In vain did the prince, who spent the winter at Breda, respectfully suggest that all the best companies would be snapped up by other princes, unless he could pay the retaining fee, or *wart geld*, but she turned a deaf ear to his protests and saved her penny.

In the spring of 1554, when he attained his twenty-first year,* the young lieutenant was promoted to the rank of captain-in-chief, and when he took the field in June,† the united troops of Brederode, Schwarzburg, Rosenberg, and Buren were placed under his command.

Charles had planned a campaign on a large scale, and prepared to fortify and provision all his strong places from the sea to the cities he still held in Lorraine.

* While in Brussels Orange was appointed one of a commission to revise Antwerp law, and frequent notes from the regent show that he was consulted on many affairs of state.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 54, 477.

In spite of difficulty in obtaining supplies owing to a disastrous failure of crops, Henry II. succeeded in gathering an adequate force, marched towards the frontier early in July, and captured Marienburg, a fortified hunting seat. A few days later Dinant was forced to capitulate, and then the two armies approached each other at Givet and lay encamped for six days on the opposite banks of the Meuse, in full sight of each other. Henry thought he could easily march on to Namur and Brussels, as the French troops so far outnumbered the Spanish forces that the latter were not ready for an encounter until reinforcements should arrive from Spain.

Charles was too ill to leave Brussels, being confined to his bed, but on hearing how Philibert of Savoy was falling back, in evident uncertainty as to the best mode of procedure, he rallied what strength remained in his poor worn-out body, and suddenly appeared at Namur like a ghost from a tomb. It looked as though he were challenging a more mortifying defeat than any he had heretofore experienced, but fortune smiled on him that time. Charles succeeded in intrenching himself in an angle of the Meuse, whence he could defend Namur, and where an attack on him was difficult. The enemy was forced to retreat, and made a passing attack on Renti, where Orange was in command. An action followed in which the French claimed the victory, but the emperor followed up his first advantage and succeeded in saving the town. Henry's fine army fell back to the French frontier and dispersed, leaving the emperor in a far better position before

the world than he had held for three years.* He followed the retreating foe into Picardy, and laid waste the country in revenge for the devastation wrought in Artois. Nothing decisive, however, was gained, and the emperor retired to Brussels.

There were several initiatory attempts at peace-making with France, and Orange was especially anxious that there should be due consideration for his affairs in the forthcoming treaty, as he had never been properly invested with his French estates. But diplomacy was slow, and the spring of 1555, saw hostilities open again on the unhappy borderland.

In a commission† dated July 22d, Charles appointed Orange general-in-chief over all the Netherland troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Givet. It is possible that the prince had held this position before, as he says in the *Apology*‡: "When I had not yet attained the age of twenty-one, when I was away from court at Buren, the emperor chose me as general-in-chief during an absence of the Duke of Savoy, although the lords in council and the queen suggested several other officers whose reputation was assured, as Counts Bossu and Lalaing, and Martin von Rossem, all veterans, and Aremberg, de Meghen, and Egmont who was twelve

* This war with France was almost a personal matter with Charles. The various Netherland provinces had no interest at stake, and granted the necessary supplies very grudgingly. The Holland fisheries suffered cruelly from French depredations, and the only protection the Dutch obtained from their liege lord was bought by their contributions to his quarrels.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 485.

‡ *Apology*, p. 76.

years my senior." He goes on to say that modesty did not permit him to repeat the reasons Charles gave for the appointment, lest he might seem to overpraise himself.

This was a responsible position, and like other positions of responsibility entailed many expenses. The prince had a large income, but even then it did not cover his expenditures, and this matter of the pecuniary emoluments of his new dignity was very important to him, as the following note * to his wife will show:

"JULY, 1555.

"MY WIFE: As I am just on the point of departing, I must tell you of the arrangement the emperor has made in consideration of my being captain-general. His Majesty has given me, as he gave the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Aerschot, and M. de Bossu, 500 florins a month and twelve halberdiers, each at double pay, which will be my only income. I wish you would find out from my lawyer, or from the accounts, whether the late Prince of Orange did not have more, and let me know. As to your question as to how much I shall have to spend a month, I think it will amount to 2500 florins, and will be obliged if you will take the trouble to get what money I need. Hoping that some time I will be able to deserve all the friendship you show me."

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 15.

Though he was always short of cash he did not hesitate to incur fresh expenses. There are several letters given in the *Kronyk* about a gallery the princess was building at Breda. In August, 1555 (also in the *Kronyk*), he wrote begging her not to take so much medicine as it is very weakening. At the same time he acknowledges four thousand florins she has sent him.

A few days later he wrote again :

" As to my generalship they have not yet decided about the salary, and there was even some attempt to persuade me to waive a salary altogether, but I spoke to the emperor yesterday who said he would see to it. I beg you to see that we have some ready money on hand, for out of the 3000 florins I received from Madame Culemburg I shall only have a thousand to take with me to camp, as the other two must be distributed in this city for the debts incurred here and for the 1500 florins that I owe my clerk.*

" Brussels, July 31st."

During the remaining months of the summer, the prince was again in the field. Marienburg being in the hands of the French brought the enemy perilously close to Brabant. Charles determined to erect a line of forts to protect the region menaced. The young general, as he says in his *Apology*,† was pitted against experienced and formidable opponents, like the Duke of Nevers and Châtillon, Admiral of France (Coligny), " who," adds Orange, " has since given good evidence that he was a tough customer (*rude partie*). Nevertheless, thank God that I held my own against them, for I built Philippeville and Charlemont in their face (*à la barbe*), although the pest raged in our army."

In addition to the pest, which they had no means of keeping in check, the incessant rains increased the hardships of camp life, and the usual difficulty of

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 16.

† *Apology*, p. 72.

funds drove the disheartened troops to the verge of a mutiny, which the officers only quelled with difficulty. The erection of the forts was an absorbing occupation and by no means amusing. October 15th, Orange wrote to the princess: "I assure you my sole amusement is to stand out in the rain and mud at our fortifications, and I leave it with you to imagine whether I should stay here long if it lay with me."

It seems strange that Charles should have chosen this time to retire from public life. After his one supreme effort of 1554, he had remained quietly at Brussels preparing for that theatrical exit from the European stage which finally took place on the afternoon of Friday, October 25, 1555. Discouraged at his waning vigour, he had decided to resign his realm voluntarily rather than to witness the diminution of the power he had so long wielded. Among the distinguished guests bidden to assist at the ceremony the emperor did not forget to include the new general.*

Orange wrote to the princess evidently pleased at the favour, telling her to find out whether the Duchess of Aerschot or Madame Egmont would not receive her for the short time she would be in Brussels. As for him, he would arrive by post the day of the ceremony, and could not tell how long he could stay.

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* *Apology*, p. 71. This is one of the favours heaped upon him that Orange mentions in his *Apology*. "It pleased the emperor to summon me from camp when he declared his intention of resigning his realms into the king's hand, and honoured me further by being unwilling to perform this act except in my presence."

Anne evidently obeyed this suggestion and forwarded her correspondence to him.

October 4th he writes * :

"My Wife : I received your letter together with the duchess's answer by Varich this morning. I am much pleased at the latter, which I think is a very courteous and suitable response to your request. It only remains for me to get leave to see you, but you will already have heard that the queen countermanded me, but only temporarily, so I think you had better write a polite letter to the Duchess of Aerschot and accept her invitation, waiting further news from me."

The abdication was delayed several days, on account of the late arrival of the Archduke Maximilian, and did not take place until October 25th.

It was a splendid affair, and is perhaps one of the best known public ceremonies of the sixteenth century, as it was described in detail by several contemporary witnesses. There was every reason for its splendour, as Charles had devoted his whole mind to its details for many months, as if by the magnificence of his exit he hoped to cast into oblivion the mortifying events of the last years of his reign.

"The great hall in the palace at Brussels † was gorgeously decorated, and all the guests assembled were attired in the richest garments. On a dais at one end of the hall were three beautiful chairs, that in the middle for the emperor, that on the left for the Queen of Hungary, who was also to lay down her office as Regent of

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 18.

† Gachard, *Analectes Belgiques* (Brussels, 1830), p. 75. The paper cited was drawn up for preservation in the Archives.

the Netherlands, and on the right for the king. On the same dais on the right was a tapestried bench for the knights of the Golden Fleece, and on the left a little lower down a similar bench for the princes and nobles ; still lower were placed other benches for the three collateral councils, state, finance, and the privy council. Below this dais, facing their Majesties, were arranged untapestried benches for the states, who seated themselves according to rank, the states of Brabant first, Flanders second, and the others behind in the order of their importance. When all were assembled and seated, which was about three o'clock, the emperor entered the hall from the chapel, leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange * ; the king and the queen (Mary of Hungary) followed, each accompanied by a large retinue of the principal native nobles and others, chevaliers of the order, in state array, wearing their grand collars, as did also their Majesties, the emperor and the king. Their Majesties seated themselves on the above mentioned chairs, while the lords and gentlemen who came in their Majesties' suite remained standing near the däis towards the side of the hall which faces the donjon of the court. . . . The whole assembly remained standing until commanded to resume their places, to hear the proposition which passed in due form with the harangues, the substance of which are herewith given.

"First Philibert de Bruxelles, Councillor of State and of the Privy Council, made an address to the states-general in behalf of the emperor, announcing his determination to abdicate, and his formal resignation of all his Netherland dignitaries and possessions to Philip. He

* "Et mesmes voulut se presenter en vostre assemblée estant appuié sur moi à cause de son infirmité."—*Apology*, p. 71.

recounted all the severe labours Charles had undergone, which had earned for him the right of repose, begged the states to be faithful to their new sovereign, and above all to observe the placards regarding religion which Charles had published and which Philip promised to maintain."

The emperor then rose and spoke for himself. He reminded his people how laborious had been his life. Since his accession to his kingdoms in 1515, he had made nine journeys to Germany, six to Spain, seven to Italy, four to France, ten to the Netherlands, two to England, as many to Africa, making forty altogether. And so weary had been these journeys, necessitated by his duty towards his various subjects, that at the age of fifty-five he was a broken-down old man.

As Mr. Motley says,* it is somewhat difficult to see how this going up and down in the world and wandering to and fro in it had greatly benefited his beloved subjects, who indeed had generally found his arrival ominous to their purses, as each coming had given rise to new taxation.

Charles's one regret in retiring was that he left a war with the French still on foot, but that would soon be settled. He then demanded pardon from his people for any errors that might have crept into his loving government, begged his son and all present to guard and protect the Holy Church, embraced Philip, and placing his hand on his head, pronounced him Count of Flanders and Sovereign of the Nether-

* *Rise of Dutch Rep.*, vol. i., p. 110.

lands, making the sign of the cross in the name of the most Holy Trinity.*

At the end of his speech, according to the Venetian ambassador, he sank back exhausted on his throne, while all the august assembly were moved to tears.

Councillor Maes of Antwerp, in the name of the states-general, made a long-winded reply to the emperor, expressing a profuse verbose regret at the departure of the old sovereign.

Then Philip, regretting that he was not sufficiently master of the French tongue to speak at first hand, said that the Bishop of Arras would be his mouthpiece. In the new king's name, therefore, the bishop expressed Philip's acceptance of his father's gift and promises of devotion to his people.

The Regent Mary followed with a carefully prepared discourse, the draft of which is in her handwriting, and delivered her resignation of the government she had wielded for twenty-four years.

These speeches finished, "their Majesties retired in the same order and by the same way by which they had come, as did the states-general, according to their rank."

Thus ended the grand spectacle of the abdication.†

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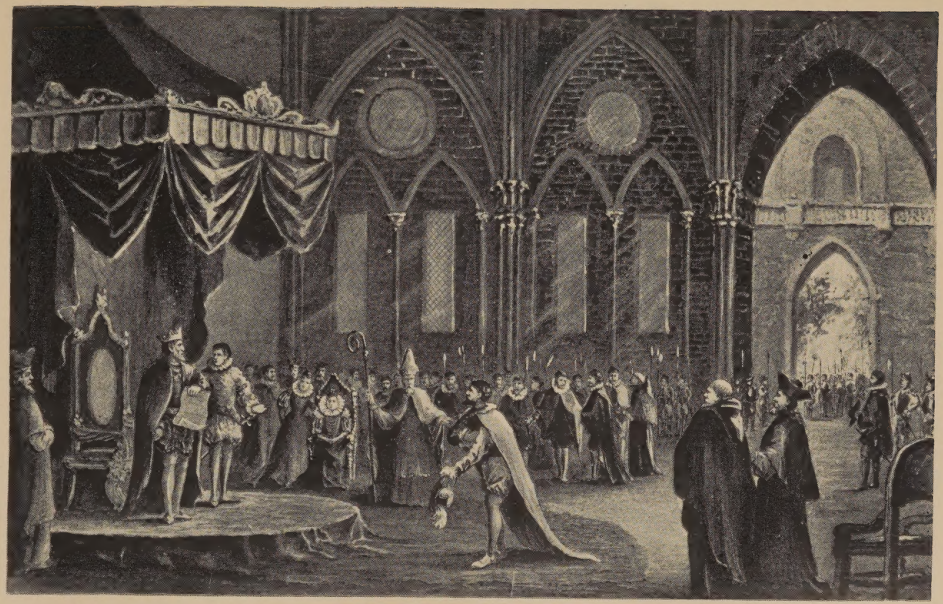
* Sir John Mason, English ambassador at Brussels, says: "And here he brake into a weeping, whereunto, besides the dolefulness of the matter, I think he was muche provoked by seeing the whole company to doo the lyke before; beying in myne opynion not one man in the whole assemblie, stranger or other that dewring the tyme of a good piece of his oracion poured not oute abondantly teares."—Burgon's *Life of Sir T. Gresham*, i., p. 174.

† Mr. Motley's account of this event is much fuller than my space allows and is one of the most masterly descriptions from his brilliant pen.



ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

The formalities for a change of rulers in the different provinces, necessarily differing widely for territories acquired so variously as the agglomeration of the Low Countries, took place within the following days or weeks. The crowns of Spain and the Indies were not ceded to Philip until January 16, 1556, and the imperial sceptre was not resigned to Ferdinand* until the following August.

Thus the people of the Netherlands received a new master and obediently expressed their joy at the change. † Charles V. had his failings, but he was an heroic figure in Europe, and the Netherland provinces felt a certain pride in his achievements.

* It was a great grief to Charles that his brother would not yield the imperial sceptre to Philip.

† At this date the Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, the Duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gelderland, the seven counties of Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zealand, the Margravate of Antwerp, and the five lordships of Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen. These seventeen provinces, which, taken altogether, scarcely equalled the fifth part of Italy and do not cover more than three hundred Flemish miles, yielded a revenue not much inferior to what Britain paid its kings before the annexation of the ecclesiastical domains to the crown. There were three hundred and fifty cities, alive with industry, many of them fortified by their natural position and secure without bulwarks or walls, and sixty-three hundred market towns of a larger size, besides many smaller villages. These duchies, counties, and lordships had come under the rule of the House of Austria at different times, by right of conquest, inheritance, or purchase. The maintenance of the industrial laws and customs of each province were promised by every ruler at his accession, in the character of duke, count, and lord, and Philip duly followed the example of his ancestors. It was distinctly understood that the inhabitants promised obedience only on condition of their privileges being respected.—See Hoofd, van Meteren, Schiller *et al.*

He had made many onslaughts on their purses, which they had resented, but submitted to. Though he had spent but few of his fifty-five years on Flemish soil, still the people always remembered that he was a Fleming by birth. He spoke their language, and when he was with them he was of them. With Philip the case was far otherwise. He was distinctly Spanish, and Spanish he remained. He could not speak a word of French, let alone Flemish, and his manner towards his northern subjects was always that of a master.

With Charles's abdication ended one phase of the Prince of Orange's life. From his eleventh year the emperor had made a pet of him and had kept him about his person.*

Under the tutelage of Jerome de Granvelle, the lad had received an excellent education, so that, while the Prince of Spain had no weapon of speech but his mother tongue, the Prince of Orange was master of French, German, and Flemish.†

Raumer,‡ in comparing young William of Nassau to Philip, says: "Instead of sly suspicion he showed sagacious foresight; instead of arbitrary obstinacy,

* "Already at a very early period had the emperor, a proof of his acuteness and knowledge of men, recognised the worth of William's nature and honoured him with his confidence. When at Paris, where he obtained universal approval, especially for his dancing, they tried to win him over to France with large bribes and he replied, 'I would rather die than betray my emperor.'"—V. Raumer, *Geschichte Europas*, iii., p. 31. This is evidently quoted from Vieilleville, and belongs to the myths.

† The Flemish and Dutch languages of the sixteenth century were one for all practical purposes.

‡ *Geschichte Europas*, iii., p. 30.

THE BELGIAN LION.

sturdy constancy; instead of cold indifference, indelible peace of soul; instead of fruitless toil, definite unwearied industry."

It was of course one thing to serve a master under whose paternal and affectionate care the prince had grown to manhood, and quite another matter to recognise the divine superiority of a man but a few years his senior, whose character was distinctly small and mean, and whose intellectual attainments were of the most meagre description.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE NEW MASTER.

### 1555–1558.

AS Charles had said in his farewell speech, part of his legacy to Philip, was the unfinished war with France, and the forts begun by the emperor remained to be completed by the king.

Orange had changed his master but was still bound to the work he had on hand. Leaving the bright little capital gay in honour of the many distinguished strangers gathered within her walls, the prince was back at his trenching on October 26th, the morrow of the abdication.

The old problems—lack of funds, dearth of provisions, and consequent discontent among the troops—confronted the new sovereign as he mounted the throne. His first letter to the prince, written only four days after his accession, was encouraging, inasmuch as he promised to send twelve thousand crowns to the camp in a very short time. * The fulfilment of

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 165.

the promise was delayed, and the letters that passed between prince and king during the autumn months were filled with complaints from the former and comforting assurances from the latter. The work on the forts progressed, however, in spite of all difficulties, and December 29th, Orange christened one of them Philippeville, in honour of the young monarch.*

In November Philip informed Orange that he had chosen him as councillor of state,† an honour that the prince acknowledged very drily. ‡

On the same date Orange writes pathetically to his wife that the condition of the camp would move any one to pity §: "For we are here without a penny, and the soldiers are dying of hunger and cold, yet they take no more notice of us at court than if we were already dead. I leave you to picture the amount of patience I am forced to have."

He says further that it is impossible for him to know when he can return. The money, expected daily, might not arrive for a fortnight, and until that came the troops could not be disbanded according to orders. Another note to the princess deserves to be recorded as showing how at the very threshold of his career the prince let no chance slip for making friends.

"My Wife: Two days ago I disbanded George von Holl's regiment, who departed satisfied. Now I am waiting for money, for the regiment of Fernando Lannoy.

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 281.
† *Ibid.*, i., 217.
‡ *Ibid.*, i., 227.
§ Groen, *Archives*, i., 23.

"If George von Holl stops at Breda, I think he will give you a little hackney, and you would do well to send a present to his wife, for you know we must make friends with people." *

At the beginning of the new year the grumblings among the soldiers in the Philippeville camp grew louder and swelled into a murmur which insisted on making itself heard at Brussels.† Orange ‡ had written time and time again to Philip narrating in sharp detail the difficulties that beset his path, but not until a certain Hans Bernard, captain of an independent company, sent a special commission, did Philip lend an ear. Then he coolly gave permission to the soldiers to live off the land. "A course of action that will injure your Majesty, and be the utter ruin of this poor flat country," § in vain remonstrated the lieutenant.

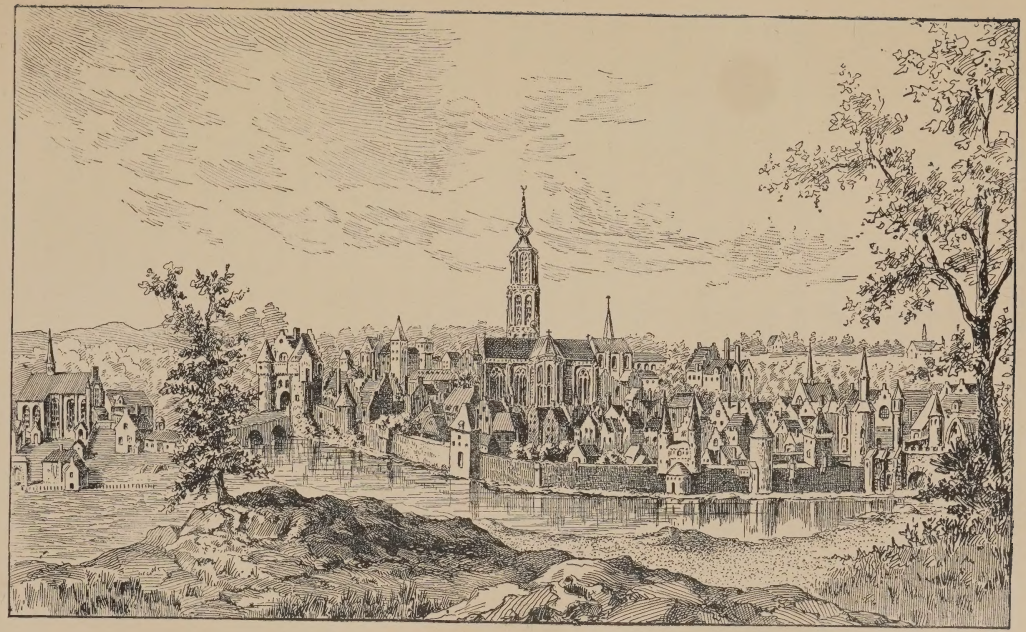
In February, a five-years' truce was signed at Vaucelles, garrisons were left at Philippeville and elsewhere, the remainder of the troops were paid off and disbanded, and Orange was released from his onerous duties. It can well be believed that these dreary months had not served to endear Philip to the prince, who could not find his sovereign's plausible letters efficient substitutes for the necessary sinews of war.

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 22.

† The tightness of the money market can be realized from the fact that Mary of England paid sixteen per cent. for the sums she borrowed to send to Philip.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 285 *et seq.*

§ *Entière ruyne du povre plat pays, Ibid.*, *Cor.*, i., 303.



VIEW OF BREDA.

On January 28th, Orange left camp where he had spent six consecutive months, and went to Antwerp to be duly received into the Order of the Golden Fleece.* The first chapter under Philip's administration was opened in Antwerp cathedral, January 19th.†

January 27th, the election of new knights to fill nineteen vacancies began, and proceeded slowly with much discussion until the list was complete. The Prince of Orange was the third person elected, and on the 30th, he received the collar, having first been armed knight.

After this ceremony, he returned to Breda, where he remained with short absences during the summer. He had just experienced the bitter discomfort of lack of money in contact with the king's debtors. His next experience was to feel the difficulty of

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* The chivalric Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece was founded in Bruges, in 1430, by Philip the Good on the occasion of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal. The order was under the protection of the Virgin and St. Andrew, patrons of Burgundy.

The first oath required was to maintain the Church—an oath that William the Elder of Nassau found it impossible to take. The statutes of the order permitted a strict inquiry into the conduct of every member of the order, from the chief down, and its most highly prized privilege was that each member had the right to be tried only by his fellow knights.

Nobility of birth was necessary for membership, and many crowned heads were numbered among the knights, but within the order all were equal. From the beginning of his reign, Philip II. resented the democratic element in this noble society, and ended by ignoring its privileges altogether.—*Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1830.

† *Archives de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, Brussels MS.

obtaining supplies, when his duty was to demand them from the king's subjects.

In March there was an assembly of the states-general, to which Philip summoned Orange in the following note: *

"My cousin, I hold you advised that the Estates of my land were ordered to meet in this city the first instant. And as it is already the 6th, it is not suitable to delay longer, and I wish you to be present with the other gentlemen, whom I have summoned, to aid bringing affairs to the condition desirable for the weal of the land. Therefore I require and order you to come hither as quickly as possible, without delay or excuses."

Philip made desperate efforts to be genial at this first assembly of the representatives of his Netherland provinces. His need of funds was very pressing, notwithstanding the generosity of his English wife, and he hoped to persuade the deputies to make him sufficiently large grants to replenish his empty exchequer. †

The states-general made a grant, but after their decision came the collecting, which was not always an easy matter. There was especial trouble in Bois-le-duc‡ and the king wrote an autograph letter to Orange, asking him to go thither to bring the town council to reason.

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 316.

† Philip asked for a tax of one per cent. on all real estate and two per cent. on all merchandise, to be collected in three payments. All the important provinces refused this tax, preferring to compound for a generous sum of money instead, which Philip was forced to accept.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 326.

In September, Orange accordingly went to Bois-le-duc with the councillor Noppenus.

The town officers had just been changed and there was difficulty in calling an assembly. When one was convened, the two upper branches refused to vote any contribution whatever, while the third consented to grant a certain amount, but insisted on making its own conditions. Orange grasped the difficulties of the situation, and wrote to Philip, that the town was very poor,* and the amount granted by the third branch was the utmost within its power, and again † October 7th, he wrote to the Duke of Savoy, asking him and the king to express satisfaction at the conduct of the people.

This Philip was by no means disposed to do, and ordered Orange to make another attempt to bring them to the king's terms.

What the final result of this particular negotiation was, does not appear in any document at my command, but I have mentioned the incident as an example of Orange's respectful endeavour to carry out his sovereign's will, even though his sympathy was aroused for the popular cause.

The five-years' truce that had been signed at the Abbey of Vaucelles, in February, 1556, lasted barely twice five months, and in January, 1557, Henry, lured by tempting offers of the pope, re-opened hostilities in Italy, and Philip found himself obliged

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 330.

† "Qui me contrainct de supplier à vostre dicte altesse qui lui plaise avoir regart à la grante pouverté de ceste ville qui est certes, monseigneur, si très grante que c'est pittié del veoir."—*Ibid.*, 334.

again to assume an attitude of defence in his northern dominions, and to re-gather the bands of mercenaries and professional soldiers which had been scattered in February, 1556.

It again became Orange's duty to persuade captains like George von Holl to accept the penurious offers that his sovereign considered good enough for foreigners. After some haggling over terms, Orange wrote to the Duke of Savoy that George von Holl had consented to take the stipulated salary, only praying that his allowance for table money might be liberal, and this amount he offered to keep secret to avoid the claims of other captains expecting similar liberality.*

Orange was also entrusted with the mission of persuading the Archbishop of Cologne † to ally himself with Philip.

After some little delay, owing to an attack of fever while on his journey from Breda, Orange arrived at Cologne and did his best to accomplish this errand.

The archbishop replied, however, that he was not at liberty to enter into a defensive alliance without consulting his chapter, nor could he conscientiously advise the king to make similar advances to the Archbishop of Treves and Mayence, but he would do what he could to further Philip's wishes. Orange returned to Breda, leaving his brother-in-law Nuenar to await the archbishop's decision. The negotiation dragged and the prince finally suggested that

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 344, March 27th.

† *Ibid.*, 368 *et seq.*

a "good chain" to one of the councillors might hasten matters.*

May 18th, Orange asked and obtained permission to go to Frankfort to aid his father in settling up the Catzenellenbogen suit, whose story has already been related.

While the prince was engaged in his private affairs, Philip made a journey to England and obtained Mary's promise to aid him to resist the new coalition between the pope and Henry II. Never, indeed, again in his life did Philip appear as prosperous as in the early summer of 1557, when all his subjects were still loyal to him and when he had the purse of his English wife at his command. She was not miserly to him, whatever she was to her own people.

Philip's troops took the field in May under the Duke of Savoy, and the hope of reinforcements from across the Channel was soon realised, though there were many difficulties to overcome. The English nation certainly bore France no love, but by this date they hated their titular king so heartily that they objected to lend him aid, even against their hereditary enemy. Mary, however, succeeded in overcoming the reluctance of her subjects, and furnished her spouse with the assistance asked for.

Philip bade what proved to be a last farewell to his forlorn, unloved, and too loving wife, and returned to Brussels. Here he collected his mercenaries, who, together with the Spanish and

* "Nous sembloit que une bonne chaine ne y seroit mal employée pour tant plus avancer le dict affaire.—Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 374.

Netherland troops, numbered thirty-five thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and was speedily followed across the Channel by the Earl of Pembroke with eight thousand men.* This whole force assembled about the middle of July, in the neighbourhood of Givet, under the protection of that new fort of Philippeville, and under the command of the Duke of Savoy.

The French force under Montmorency, assisted by the Marshal St. André, and Coligny, "who had already proved himself a formidable opponent,"† assembled in Picardy. The officers in both Spanish and French armies were all brilliant and illustrious men, nearly all young, or in the full strength of manhood.

After some skirmishing around Guise and other small places, the troops turned all their force against St. Quentin, an important city on the direct road to Paris. Coligny had foreseen this possibility, and had succeeded in entering the city, which was speedily invested by the enemy [Aug. 2d]. The siege lasted eight days. August 10th, St. Lawrence's day,‡ the Constable Montmorency succeeded in advancing past the Netherlanders with a reinforcement. Philibert was entirely taken by surprise, but Egmont insisted that it would be possible to cut off the constable's retreat by a sudden attack. His counsel carried the

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* See De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, xix., p. 148 *et seq.*; also *Mémoires de François de Rabutin*, ix., 50.

† *Apology*, p. 72.

‡ This account is taken mainly from De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, iii., 152 *et seq*; see also Hoofd, i., 8; Meteren, i., 18.

EMMANUEL PHILIBERT, DUKE OF SAVOY.

day, and was repaid by success beyond all expectation.* Out of over twenty thousand troops, all but six thousand were killed or made prisoners within an hour.

It was Egmont's hand that won the victory, and inflicted the most direful defeat that France had suffered since the days of the Black Prince. Montmorency's army was cut to pieces, but Coligny was still in St. Quentin, and it was necessary to take the city to complete the victory. Philip went from Brussels to Cambray, and received the congratulations that poured in upon him from all quarters. He was quite content to complacently receive felicitations for the bravery of his general, and then await further developments at a safe distance. Charles would not have lingered at Cambray, nor even at the seat of victory. The way once opened, Paris would have been his goal, but Philip was of different mettle.

Though only defended by eight hundred men, St. Quentin held out bravely till August 27th, when a simultaneous assault was ordered at four of the many breaches made in the wall. The town surrendered, though bravely resisting to the last. Coligny fought single-handed, until taken prisoner by a private soldier. The slaughter that followed in the unhappy town was one of the worst known in the history of sixteenth-century sieges.

Orange's name was not mentioned particularly in

* Philip built the Escurial palace in commemoration of this victory, choosing the shape of a gridiron, out of respect to the patron saint of the day.—Prescott, *Philip II.*, i., 227.

any of the contemporary records, as Hoofd, Rabutin, Meteren, and De Thou, but he was on the spot from the middle of July, and commanded one of the besieging companies before the town.

August 20th, he wrote * to the Princess of Orange, from the camp before St. Quentin, begging her to send him some money, and mentioning that the town cannot hold out much longer.

The emperor's first question,† on hearing of this first success of his son's reign was, "Is Philip at Paris?"

But that was a Mecca he never reached, though by taking Chatelet, Han, and Noyon, he pressed farther into French territory than his father had ever done.

Orange writes to his wife, September 11th :‡

"My Wife : This morning after having shot a thousand cannon volleys, the castle of Han surrendered to the mercy of his Majesty, there being in the said château about 1000 or 1100 men. I think we shall hang some of them for having made his Majesty wait so long. I assure you this is the prettiest site for a château that could be desired, and there was, joining the said house, one of the most beautiful towns to be seen, but the French burned it on our arrival. I think we shall fortify both the town and château. I don't know what we shall do next ; knowing, I will advise you immediately.

"The three companies of black hussars, who escorted us foragers, summoned the town of Chauny to surrender,

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 27.

† Rabutin, ix., 53.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, i., 29.

and it promptly yielded. The French are finely embarrassed.

"From Camp near Han, Sept. 11th."

The next note,* September 27th, is suggestive of a malarial situation:

"My Wife: Day before yesterday I had a slight access of fever, and to-day I am expecting it again, but I hope with the aid of God that I may soon be rid of it.

"If it comes I will tell you. Monsier d'Egmont has a sharp attack, as well as the Duke of Sesse, the Prince d'Ascoli, and the Count of Feria. Since day before yesterday, my brother has been feeling rather done up.

"Your very good husband,

"William of Nassau.

"From the Camp near Han, Sept. 27th."

The brother here mentioned is Louis, third son of Juliana of Stolberg and Count William of Nassau, a bright, enthusiastic, knightly youth, called the German "Bayard," who seems to have been one of those rare unselfish people who find their life in that of another. Born January 10, 1538, he was five years younger than the prince, and seems to have poured out on him an adoring affection and devotion rare to see.

The mixed elements in Philip's camp did not amalgamate well. The English hated the Spanish, and were anxious to get back to their island as speedily as possible, and Philip was forced to let them go. The Germans complained of their irregular

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 29.

pay, and deserted to the French, until Philip found his strength so much impaired that he was glad to withdraw the remnant of his troops to winter quarters at an early date. By October, Brussels was again the headquarters of the army, though peace was not yet established with France.

One of the profits from war at this period were the ransoms paid by distinguished prisoners, who had to be well entertained until such ransoms were arranged. The following letter* from Orange to Philip gives a little glimpse of the requisitions made:

"SIRE: By the letters your Majesty was pleased to write me, the 10th instant, about my journey to Germany, I understand that the Duke Eric of Brunswick persists in lodging his prisoners nowhere else but in my house at Breda. †

"Since then I have received letters from Seignior de Boucholt, informing me that he arrived last Friday evening, with the said prisoners at Breda.

"Therefore, since there is no help for it, and not to lose an opportunity of doing service to your Majesty, I have ordered the house to be opened to them. But as to their guard, I hope your Majesty will remember my humble request, to be relieved of that, for many reasons, and that your Majesty will provide for it as seems best to him."

The Duke of Savoy heard that Orange was absent when this party arrived at Breda, and wrote off

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 382.

† This was not the only unjust requisition made on his estate. Philip requested him to furnish fifty waggons for his service, and the prince indignantly refused.—*Ibid.*

post-haste to the princess, begging her to receive the gentlemen, as it really was not suitable to lodge the prisoners in a Breda inn.*

It is to be hoped that the princess found them † not unpleasant visitors in their untoward circumstances.

During the winter months, Orange was necessarily much absent from his home and his wife, trying to raise money for his impecunious master. George von Holl came from Germany to ask back pay for his troops; and probably the other mercenary captains were no better off. The grants from the states had evidently been insufficient to defray the expenses of the last campaign, and Philip was hard pressed to make both ends meet. Orange finally succeeded in raising a loan at Antwerp, from English merchants, though he was forced to be content with unfavourable terms, so low was the royal credit.

At the time of the abdication, Charles V. had appointed the prince as messenger to carry his resignation of the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand.‡

After a series of adjournments, a Diet was held February, 1558, at Frankfort, at which the prince was ordered to present himself with the Vice-Chancellor Seld, and Secretary Haller, and in behalf of Charles formally to transfer the crown of the empire to Ferdinand. Therefore when the troublesome

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 384.

† The gentlemen were Marshal St. André and the rhinegrave.

‡ Charles had in vain tried to induce his brother to resign this claim in favour of Philip.

terms of the loan were effected, Orange returned to Breda, and made his preparations for this journey.* The mission was accomplished February 24th, but Orange remained in Frankfort to witness Ferdinand's coronation, and also to try and fulfil a private commission for Philip.

He wrote to the king in March,† acknowledging a letter, and telling him that the emperor highly approved Philip's proposed alliance with the German princes, but there were difficulties in the way owing to French intrigues. "As to news, there is none," he adds, "except that the Bishops of Bayonne are here secretly plotting some mischief, which I hope to balk by aid of the King of the Romans."

March 12th, Orange wrote to his wife, having just learned of her illness.‡ He has despatched T'Serraets in post haste to Breda, and begs her to send him news if she can do nothing more than sign the letter. He will return as speedily as he can, and come direct to Breda. Anne grew worse, however, and when her husband reached Breda, March 20th, he found her beyond hope, and she died four days later.

Just of an age with the prince, she had then completed her twenty-fifth year. She left two living children, Philip William, born December 19, 1554,

* In his *Apology* (p. 69), Orange says that he objected to this mission, as it did not seem reasonable that he should remove the crown from his master's head, which his predecessor had placed there. He also complains of the expenses of the journey, which he had to defray himself.

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 30.

‡ *Kronyk van het Historisch Gezelschap*, p. 17.

En invocant en premier lieu le nom de
souverain seigneur dieu sans laide duquel la p
humaine ne peult aulcune chose bien concepnoit
ny achever / Nous anne degmont princesse a
contesse de nassau de buren de leerdam &
estant (graces a dieu) en disposition entiere d
et dentendement / et neanmoins considerant
fragilite et imbecilite de nostre humaine cōdi
lincertitude de nostre vie / avant aulcune surpr
violente maladie ou aultre advenue impourner
quelque accident que me pouroit jecter en te
que je navrois moien ou loisir de tester et or
mes biens et pourvoir a ce que desirons en
apres nostre deces / nous le avons voulu faire
faisons par ce present escript en la forme et
que sensuyt.....

Anne degm

WILL OF ANNE OF EGMONT.

and Mary, born February 7, 1556; but in the records * of the prince's household expenditures there is an entry of a baptismal feast on December 12, 1553, with a list of the guests, so that she had lost at least one child.

There are various suggestions scattered through contemporary documents, that the wedded life of Anne of Egmont was not happy. It is hinted that Orange treated her with cruelty, and I find even dark insinuations that he hastened her death.

If the latter accusation had foundation even in the prince's thoughts, he must have been a consummate hypocrite of the worst type.† Whether the marriage was perfectly harmonious is another question, and yet the indications seem to me that it was. The forty-five existing letters from the prince to his wife are particularly pleasant in tone, somewhat boyish, to be sure, but written with perfect ease, as though to a congenial person. She evidently had full charge of all home affairs during his frequent absence from Breda, reported to him frequently, raised what funds she could for his necessities, and

* In the monthly expense accounts of the prince April '53–April '54, where are noted day by day the expeditions or journeys of the prince, the names of his guests, condition of his house, current price of provisions, etc., is a memorandum, December 12th, of a baptismal banquet at Breda. The guests were the Queen of Hungary, Bishop of Cologne, Count Horn, etc.—Groen, *Archives*, i., 30.

† A Court lady in Dresden, Sophie von Miltitz, says: "A rumour is abroad that the prince murdered his first wife. I cannot imagine what caused lying people to invent such a consummate falsehood, for I know as certain truth that it was a friendly, blessed marriage, based on well founded truth and love."—*Dresden Archives*, quoted by Böttiger in *Historisches Taschenbuch*, first series.

in short, showed herself an adequate helpmate for a busy man. He kept her informed of all his movements and plans, and interspersed his notes with expressions of gratitude for her aid, and affection for her.

The following letters * to Count William of Nassau do not evince passionate grief, but the phrase, "friendly, dear housewife," (freuntliche, liebe Hauszfrau), agrees perfectly with the tone of the prince's letters to Anne.

"March 27th, 1558.

"DEAR SIR FATHER: My saddened heart must not keep me from telling your Grace, that the weakness into which my amiable and beloved wife fell about a month ago, as you lately learned from me at Dillenburg, increased before and after my return, until at last her life ceased. Thursday, the 24th of this present month, between six and seven o'clock, she departed in a happy and Christian manner, to God the Almighty, who will have mercy on her soul."

"April 14th.

". . . How heavy the loss is, which I and my young children have suffered, your Excellency may easily imagine. As, however, it cannot be changed, and as it is not proper to oppose the ways of the Lord with impatience, I must leave it to the Eternal, and submit myself to His will, and console myself with the thought that he showed His mercy to the sainted one, inasmuch as she died in full consciousness and as a Christian."

Philip wrote as follows †:

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 32.

† *Ibid.*

"BRUSSELS, March 25th.

"MY COUSIN: Having learned of the serious indisposition of my late cousin, your companion, and that since your return to Breda from Frankfort you too had fallen seriously ill, I despatched the seigneur de [Sombernon] bearer of this, to visit you both, and at the moment of his departure the news arrived, to my great sorrow, of the decease of my late cousin, which I feel keenly, both on account of her personal qualities, as well as for your sake, realising the loss you have suffered . . ."

"March 28th.

"Your letters have renewed the sorrow I felt for the death of the princess, your companion . . . and there was no need for you to excuse yourself for not having yet reported your expedition to Frankfort, which can easily wait until your spirit is a little reposed."

To the Bishop of Arras, Orange wrote in some detail*:

"BREDA, March 28th, 1558.

"MONSIEUR: I thank you warmly for the letter which you were pleased to write me by Monsieur de Chantonay, your brother, in consolation, and mitigation of the grief and unsupportable sadness, by which I am surrounded, for which I am greatly obliged to you, knowing the good affection and friendship that you bear me.

"But since it has so pleased God, and as in all things it is necessary to conform to His most holy will, I implore Him to give me strength that, following your advice, I can patiently bear it, and that He may give peace to the soul of the departed. As to what you desire to know of

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 397.

my malady, the beginning was, that on my arrival from Frankfort at Breda, the 20th of the month, I found that she had been already given up by the physicians, and was in great pain, so that on the 24th, death ensued, which caused me such perplexity and unspeakable grief, that I fell into a fever with convulsions. However (thank God) for the present I feel pretty well, only I still find myself weak."

The letters to Count William and the bishop are different in character. To William there is an evident attempt at an evangelical train of thought, while to the bishop, Orange expresses a hope for the repose of Anne's soul. The latter letter is, however, more freely written than the former. *

* Gilbertus Cognatus gives the following portrait of the prince as he was in 1558 :

Annos nunc P.M. 25 natus, statura est procera, forma conspicuus, fortis viribus, etiam militaris rei peritissimus, adito facilis, ac imprimis summus populi sui amator, quibus regiis dotibus omnes in sui amorem pellexit, princeps ad summam virtutem exspectatus.

*Corr. de Marguerite d'Autriche*, par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Bruxelles, 1842, p. 368.

# CHAPTER VII.

## DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

### 1558–1559.

HE prince was not allowed a long period of leisure, to recover from his loss, and recruit his strength from his illness. May 7th, Philip summoned * him peremptorily to Antwerp, to superintend a revision of the municipal law, and in June, the Duke of Savoy ordered † him to hasten as rapidly as possible with his *bande d'ordonnance*, to the relief of Thionville, a strong town on the Moselle.

Philip's burst of military enthusiasm had been quickly exhausted, and he was now far more eager for compromise than conflict.

In the early spring, the Bishop of Arras and Cardinal Lorraine had an interview at Péronne, ‡ in which they arrived at an amicable understanding,

* "Vous veullez trouver ici en dilligence sans aucune excuse ou difficulté."—Gachard, i., 399.

† *Ibid.*, *Cor.*, 401.

‡ De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, xx., 223 *et seq.*

agreeing that the real interest of France and Spain was not to gain territory from each other, but to check the insidious foe of heresy, that was spreading through both realms. The prelates were at one, but as their negotiations remained secret, hostilities between the kingdoms opened with the early summer.

The Duke of Guise had succeeded in regaining Calais, whose possession by the English had long been a thorn in the side of France, and now he marched towards Luxemburg.

Orange obeyed Savoy's orders, but was too late to render assistance to the town of Thionville, which yielded to Guise on June 22d.

After this success, the duke did not follow up his advantage, and his gain was soon more than counterbalanced by Egmont's brilliant victory at Gravelines, July 12th, in which he utterly routed a picked French force under Marshal de Thermes, taking him and many other noble officers prisoners. The dashing courage shown by Egmont on this occasion was of the kind dear to the hearts of the people. Wild delight was felt throughout the Netherlands, where an opportunity for public rejoicing was never let slip, and the count was simply worshipped by every true Fleming.

Notwithstanding the large forces, still in first-rate condition, available on both sides, this battle was the closing scene of the seven years' warfare between the Spanish and French monarchs. Philip was quite content to rest on the laurels won by his ill-requited general. Henry was not anxious to take further risks, and the people on both sides were longing for

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

peace. The only person not pleased was the Duke of Alva, lately come from Italy; he would have preferred that it should have been his hand to turn the tide in favour of his master. It was said that he never forgave Egmont his success on July 12th.

Orange was at Lille, Bapaume, and Arras during the summer. There are no more pleasant little notes from his hand, to give us glimpses of the situation. His correspondence * that is still in existence treats of various diplomatic points—whether he cannot manage to obtain some information from his prisoner St. André, † before he sees any one else, whether it would not be advisable for him, Orange, to return for a few days, under pretence of illness, etc., etc.

Everyone was anxious that there should be no further delay in the peace negotiations. As it seemed somewhat hazardous to attempt peaceful parleying with two armed bodies almost within sight of each other, the first measures were to disband the foreign mercenaries, and to quarter home troops at a safe distance.

The preliminary arrangements for a meeting of the peace commission were made at Lille, under the Prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez, and the Bishop of Arras on one side, and Montmorency and Marshal St. André on the other. On the 15th of October, formal negotiations were opened at the Abbey of Cercamp, in the neutral territory of Cambray.

* These letters were to Count Lalaing, who was temporarily acting for the regent.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 402 *et seq.*

The Duke of Alva, President Viglius, Cardinal Lorraine, the Bishop of Artemis, and Claude l'Aubespine joined those who had been present at Lille.* Mary of England also sent envoys, but the question of Calais threatened to become too absorbing, so the whole English matter was laid on the table, to be settled by a future congress, independently of Franco-Spanish interests.

It must be remembered that at this date Orange was only twenty-five years old and young to be counted as a man of weight in important diplomacy.

During the past seven years, there had been constant capture and recapture of towns and cities whose possession lent strength to their ruler. Each of these had to be considered in detail. Then there were the confiscated territories of adherents on both sides to be restored, and ransoms, an important item, to be adjusted, and pledges to be exchanged.

Orange wrote† as follows to the Duke of Savoy:

"CERCAMP, October 15th.

"MONSEIGNEUR: After dinner we met and accomplished great things. After some disputing they agreed to our retaining Hesdinfort, as your Highness will see by our letter to his Majesty. As to the other affairs we touched on them, but adjourned till to-morrow. He is very firm about the sister, as your Highness will see by our letter.

"So in case they agree to the restoration of Piedmont with the said sister, retaining certain places, which I

* De Thou, iii., 44, etc.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 409.

think will happen, your Highness will have to decide about the marriage." *

Before any conclusion had been reached by this commission an event occurred which greatly simplified the business. Mary of England completed her miserable and unsatisfactory life November 17th, leaving her husband free to seal his diplomatic promises with new marriage ties. Her death and Elizabeth's accession caused a temporary suspension of negotiations. Philip gave Mary a splendid funeral service in Brussels, and then proceeded to consider the question of a successor.

There was another funeral to be celebrated at Brussels besides that of Philip's unhappy spouse. On the 21st of September, the late emperor ended his life in the monastery of Yuste, and his son did not find time to pay public homage to the dead until nearly January.

The pageant which then took place in Brussels was, however, sufficiently elaborate and splendid to excuse its delay.

An Englishman, Richard Clough,† financial agent for Elizabeth at Antwerp, sent a detailed account of the ceremonies to his chief, Sir Thomas Gresham, from which the following extracts are taken:

* The "said sister" was Margaret of Valois, whose marriage to the Duke of Savoy was made a condition of the restoration of his dominions. Dumas tells the story inaccurately but picturesquely in *The Duke's Page.*

† *Life of Sir T. Gresham* by J. W. Burgon, London, 1839, i., 241. Richard Clough to Sir T. Gresham, January 2, 1559. Clough was an emissary of Gresham's at Antwerp.

"Att my beying there [Brussels] I saw the beryall of the late Emperore Charles whiche begane the 29th of the last month and duryd 2 days."

After describing in picturesque detail the mourning decoration of Brussels and the cathedral, he gives a picture of the procession full of emblematic devices:

"There was in about the middle a shippe decorated with the banners of the Emperore's arms, and amonxst them many banners of the Tourks and Moores fallen down and lying in the water. All the schrowds or upper part of the shippe was costly carven and gylte: the shrowds and masts, sails and tops all black. . . . There was made in the midst of the shippe after the maine mast a stoole of estate where on sate no man. . . . Before the stoole another mayde all clothed in white, and her face coveryd with white lampors. In her right hand a red crosse and in her left hand a chalice with the sacrament. . . . After thatt came 24 horses each representing a country ruled over by the Emperore and before every horse went either an Erle or a Duke.

"There were many other horses representing the Emperor's dukedoms, and then one for his person, all of course riderless.

"The Prince of Orange carried the sourde with the poynt downewarde.* . . .

"And the service being done, there went a nobellman unto the herse (so far as I coulde understande it was the

* Another account says that the prince carried the globe and the sceptre.—Burgon, i., 254.

Prince of Orange), who standing before the herse, strucke with the hand upon the chest and sayd—'He is ded.' Then standing styll awhile, he sayd—'He shall remayne ded.' And then resting awhile, he strucke again and sayd—'He is ded, and there is another rysen up in hys place greater than ever he was."

The peace negotiations were renewed on February 5, 1559, at Cateau Cambresis, instead of Cercamp, and there the treaty was signed on April 3d.* When all was done, it was almost impossible to see any material gain to either principal, after eight years of wearisome, expensive warfare. All the captured places were restored to the sovereignty which had possessed them in 1551. Hence, as the emperor had then been the greater loser, his son was now the greater gainer.

Philip surrendered to the French five towns he had won in Picardy, but in return Henry II. restored to him more than two hundred places in the Netherlands and Italy for the five he surrendered in Picardy. Philip was to marry Elizabeth of Valois, with a dowry of four hundred thousand crowns, although this daughter of Henry II. had been intended for Don Carlos.

Philibert of Savoy benefited largely by the treaty.† The French commissioners "had held firm for the sister," and he had therefore consented to marry

* For the story of the treaty see Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v., 34; De Thou, iii., 250; v. Meteren, i., 192; and Hoofd.

† The principality of Orange was restored to the prince, under the article of this treaty which provided for the personal property of Philip's followers. See Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. 34.

Margaret of Valois, who brought a dowry of three hundred thousand crowns and the duke's confiscated paternal estates.

The real motive that induced the two monarchs to consent to a settlement without further bickering was, as I have said, their desire to put an effectual stop to the heresies that were increasing everywhere in their dominions. When the papers were duly signed, Henry chose Orange, Oliver Aerschot, and Egmont to accompany him to Paris, to act as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty, and thither Orange went early in April.

There are, unfortunately, no private letters in existence from Orange during this Paris visit. Pleasant little notes, like those written from the uncomfortable camps, had ceased forever with the life of Anne of Egmont. The family letters that must have been sent to Dillenburg have perished, and but two official letters remain, so that what his impressions were of the French capital cannot be known.

De la Pise, who perhaps had sources of knowledge now hidden by the dust of time, relates the following incident of his visit*:

"The prince was lodged in Paris in a hotel, where the butler's pantry looked upon a lane, by low iron-barred windows, near which was a sideboard covered with very beautiful silver.

"A rascal having spied the way to get hold of this, provided himself with long hooks, by means of which he drew the pieces, one by one, close to the iron grating,

* *Tableau des Princes et de la Principauté de Orange*, Joseph de la Pise, édition de la Haye, 1639, p. 270.

bent by force those which could not pass through the holes, and thus scratched all that was the most beautiful.

"This untoward mischance greatly troubled those who had charge of the silver, but at last the thief was caught in some other wickedness, confessed that he had also committed this theft, and was condemned to be hanged.

"The day of the execution arrived, and even as the wretch was being conducted to the gibbet, the good prince returned from hunting with the king. He perceived that a man was being led to execution, and learned from a passer-by for what crime he was going to die. The man, not knowing the prince, answered, 'that it was for having stolen the silver vessels of the Prince of Orange.' Instantly he addressed himself to the king, begging him to grant him the life of the criminal.

"The king consented, and the prince rode at full gallop towards the crowd assembled to witness the sad spectacle, stayed the execution until the arrival of the king, and saved the thief from the hands of the hangman. After admonishing him to lead a better life for the future, he gave him full liberty. By this act he recovered the greater part of his silver, which a more rigourous treatment would have infallibly lost him."

The ambassadorial hostages evidently found the final settlements of the conditions of the treaty no easy matter, as a succession of delays were interposed for trivial reasons. The formal contract of marriage between Elizabeth of Valois and Philip was made June 22d, with much pomp and ceremony.*

In a letter to the Bishop of Arras, June 24th, Orange says:

* The king was not present, Alva acting as his proxy.

"I was worked so hard the day of the marriage that I was obliged to stay in bed all day yesterday." *

The negotiations drew their slow length along, as was inevitable when both parties were afraid of being overreached by some sly trick, and there were frequent festivities to relieve the tedium of business. Among them was a hunting party in the Vincennes woods, in which the following incident occurred: As the story goes—and it is one repeated by every author,—on the way home, Orange and the French king were separated from the rest of the riders. As they rode slowly along under the trees, Henry, supposing that the young Dutch statesman was in the full confidence of his Spanish master, entered into the details of the private treaty he had made with Alva, to exterminate heresy from the joint dominions of himself and Philip. The picture of this confidence on horseback is as well known as that of Raleigh and his cloak.

The prince says in his *Apology* † that he was touched by pity and compassion for all the worthy people who were thus condemned to extinction, and especially for the land with which his interests were so closely identified, when it was calmly proposed to introduce an inquisition far more cruel than that of Spain, and to spread nets in which might be ensnared everyone who chanced to look crosswise at an image.

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* This letter is in the handwriting of Secretary Berty, but Gachard thinks that the contents show Orange to have been the author.—*Cor.*, i., p. 416.

† *Apology*, p. 88.

"Seeing, I say, these things, I confess that from that moment I determined in earnest to chase the Spanish vermin from the land, and I never repented my resolution." *

It is doubtful whether any crisis is quite so dramatic at the time, as it appears in the light of after events, and the prince, writing twenty-one years later, may have let the knowledge of 1580 color the feelings he experienced in 1559.

It was from the control he kept over himself that day in the Vincennes forest that the prince gained the name of *le Taciturne* or the Silent. The epithet was bestowed for a single action, and not for an habitual trait. †

One of the festivities following this hunt was a tournament, in which Henry II. received the wound that proved fatal a few days later—on July 12th.

Orange was probably not present on that occasion, as he says in his *Apology* that, disturbed at Henry's communication, he hastened to the Netherlands as soon as he could obtain permission, under bonds to return, however, when summoned.‡

Philip was making every effort to arrange affairs, so that he could return to Spain, being thoroughly tired of his stay in the north. The episode of his British marriage was something of the past. He had come into his own heritage, had found a new wife, and by means of this new alliance had won leisure

* *Apology*, p. 88.

† This story is mentioned in Pontus Payen, i., 8; see also *Correspondance de Granvelle*, vol. vi., p. 567 *et seq.*

‡ *Mémoires de Pontus Payen*, publiées par Alex. Henne. Brussels: 1861, vol. i., p. 9.

for crushing out the new freedom of religious thought, which he found more hateful with each succeeding year of his life. Thus he longed for his own beloved peninsula, where he could speak the language. His sojourn in the Netherlands had been compulsory, and his soul yearned for congenial surroundings on Spanish soil.

Philibert of Savoy, appointed Governor of the Netherlands, on the resignation of Mary of Hungary, now had other occupation in his restored dominions of Piedmont, and a new viceroy was needed for the Low Countries before Philip could throw aside his responsibility there.

There were several candidates for this position, among whom were Egmont and Orange. But the latter quickly saw that such pretensions on the part of nobles of the soil, whether native or naturalised, would find no favour at court, and he turned his attention to considering whether he could not at least be the power behind the throne.

Not many months elapsed after Anne's death, before Orange, following his royal master's example, began to look about him for a second mate. A wife was indeed necessary to a prominent noble, and it fell to her to act as regent over the complicated affairs of a large estate, during her lord's frequent absences.* It must be acknowledged that the con-

* During his widowerhood, Orange formed an alliance with one Eve Eliver, of whom I find nothing more than her name. She had one son born in September, 1559, who was called Justin of Nassau, and was brought up and provided for by the prince, becoming, later, Governor of Breda and Admiral of Zealand. Eve married A. Arondaux, secretary of the town of Hulst.

tents of her coffers were of great moment to Orange in making his choice. When in France, he made some overtures towards Madame de Touteville, sister-in-law to the King of Navarre, whose husband fell at St. Quentin, leaving her a sixteen-year-old widow, the richest woman in France,* but he was unsuccessful in his suit. The successive incumbency of two women regents in Brabant facilitated the suggestion of the eligibility of a third, and the candidate heartily supported by the prince was the Duchess of Lorraine, daughter of Christian, King of Denmark, and Isabella, sister of Charles V., and cousin-german to Philip II.

Orange proposed to marry Christina's youngest daughter, Rénée, and then be his mother-in-law's right hand in the government. This plan fell through, owing, as Orange thought, to Granvelle's hostile influence.

Philip gave the government to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, and Rénée married Duke Eric of Brunswick. It is quite possible, however, that Orange had made the appointment a *sine qua non* of his marriage, so that the latter event may not have been a disappointment to him.

Margaret's nomination to the vacant office was received with approval throughout the Netherlands. She was the eldest child of the late emperor, born out of wedlock, four years before his marriage, and brought up as his acknowledged daughter under the care of his aunt and sister. Her mother was a beautiful young girl of Ghent, in good position,

* *Omnium quæ in Gallia est longe ditissima.*—Hubert Languet.

and Margaret was felt to be a thorough Netherlander. At the age of twelve, she was married to Alexander de' Medici, a wretched offspring of the Medici family, who, luckily for his poor young bride, was assassinated within a year.

Her second husband was Ottavio Farnese, seven years her junior, with whom she was fairly happy—apart. She was not a woman of attractive personality. "The truth is," says Strada,* "her spirit was not only great beyond her sex, but she went so habited and had such a garb as if she were not a woman with a masculine spirit, but a man in woman's clothes. Her strength was such that she used to hunt the stag and change horses upon the field which is more than many able-bodied men can do. Nay, upon her chin and upper lip she had a little kind of a beard, which gave her not more of the resemblance than the authority of a man. She had a present wit and in action could steer to all sides with wonderful dexterity."

From the moment of her entering into office she was devoted heart and soul to her brother's interests.

Such was the new mistress under whom Orange was to begin his career as a statesman. His long apprenticeship was over. As page, he had been the loyal and devoted pet of the emperor. He had served his first campaigns under his banners. With a new master the young officer had superintended fort-building and camp-making and had then been initiated into the more difficult work of treaty fram-

* *De Bello Belgico*, by Famianus Strada, i., p. 23. English version, translated by Sir Robert Stapylton, London, 1650.

MARGARITA AVSTRIACA DVCISSA PARMÆ ET PLACENTIÆ GENERALIS
BELGARVM DYN. PHIL. HISP. REGIS NOM GVBERNAT. AB ANO 1559. VSQVE. 1567.

MARGARET, DUCHESS OF PARMA.

ing. It was a steady advance in responsibility and now he was entering on the most difficult portion of his career. The experience he had already had was of a nature to give him a right to act in the first public protest against Philip's will.

In the Netherlands the only regular governmental troops were the so-called *bandes d'ordonnance*,* which consisted of about three thousand horse, divided into fourteen squadrons, each under the command of a stadtholder or noble. In addition to these, in the year 1559, there were about four thousand foreign soldiers, mainly Spaniards, still quartered on the country.

When Henry II. made his memorable confidence to Orange in the Vincennes forest, one of the points that had especially excited the prince's indignation was that these foreign troops were henceforth to be used in suppressing heresy, there being no further need for their services against an outer enemy, since France and Spain had entered into a union on a firm basis. To prevent any such arrangement as that was the chief reason why Orange cut short his stay in the French capital and hastened home.

The states-general were summoned† to meet at Ghent on August 7th, to receive Philip's solemn farewell and to welcome Margaret as Philip's representative and lieutenant.

In the king's harangue to his subjects the question of the withdrawal of his troops, long since mooted, was gently waived. There were many glittering

* Van Meteren, vol. i., p. 24.

† See Pontus Payen, i., 12 *et seq.*

generalities on Philip's sorrow at departure, exhortations to carry out all his late father's edicts, and a demand for 3,000,000 florins. *

The states withdrew to consider this request, and on the following day each province separately returned its answer. The states of Artois were the first to read their decision. After expressing affection and loyalty, they cheerfully assented to the requisition on their purses, even declaring their readiness to place their last drop of blood as well as their property at the disposal of their gracious sovereign. This pleased Philip mightily, but the reader then proceeded to beg his Majesty to withdraw all troops from the Low Lands as a compensation for his subjects' loyalty and liberality.

This turn was both unexpected and displeasing to the said gracious sovereign, and his displeasure increased visibly, when the states of the other provinces followed suit, each making the departure of the foreign soldiery a condition of furnishing their quota of supplies. These replies of the various provinces were followed by a formal protest, drawn up in the name of the states-general and signed by Egmont, Orange, and many other leading Flemish nobles.

In this document, a spade was called a spade and the details of the disorders committed by the soldiers were depicted with an unsparing hand.† Philip was

* The gold florin or guilder of this period was worth frs. 6.14, the silver frs. 3.84, but in actual purchasing power the former was equivalent to about twenty-five francs of to-day.

† See *Réponse du Roy à la Remonstrance*, in Wagenaar, xxi., 49 *et seq.*, *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Amsterdam, 1752.

perfectly furious and is said by one author* at least, to have asked whether as a Spaniard he was expected to leave the land. After pondering his answer for a few days, he replied to the states that there were not many troops anyway; they could not be disbanded until he had sent money from Spain for their back pay; they would be a convenient escort to Don Carlos and he would place them all under the command of the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont. He addressed an elaborate letter to Mechlin, the high court of the provinces and to the various minor tribunals of the land, calling on each and all to suppress heresy in the most stringent manner. He controlled his anger against the states sufficiently to bid them an amicable farewell, and on August 26th, he set sail from Flushing, leaving the Netherlands for ever.

Just as he was about to embark, having embraced each noble warmly, he turned to the Prince of Orange and upbraided him bitterly for the failure of the states to make the desired appropriation. Orange replied that it was not his decision but that of the states. Philip, filled with rage, seized the prince by the wrist and exclaimed: "*No los estados ma vos, vos, vos.*" "Not the states but you, you, you."†

Thus Philip sailed away to Spain and left the

* See Pontus Payen, i., p. 96.

† This story is given in the *Memoirs of Louis Aubery, Seigneur du Maurier* (Hague Library), who says that his father had it from an eye-witness. These memoirs, though vivid, are filled with inaccuracies, so that too much credence must not be given to any story unsubstantiated elsewhere.

Netherland affairs to run on the wheels he had wound up. The disposition of the government was as follows*: at the head was Margaret of Parma, Philip's personal representative. She was blindly devoted to her brother and next to him in her thoughts stood the Church.

Her judgment was to be aided and supported by three councils, viz.: state, finance, and privy council. The first consisted of President Viglius, Anthony Perrenot, the Bishop of Arras, Count Egmont, and the Prince of Orange.†

To them was entrusted all the affairs of executive government, war, treaties, foreign relations, internal and provincial matters. ‡ The financial council, having charge of fiscal affairs, was presided over by Baron Berlaymont—a man of small, mean calibre, ardently devoted to Spanish interests.

Viglius was president of the privy council, which was composed of about twelve learned doctors, who were responsible for the interpretation of the law and the administration of justice.

These three councils were to be quite independent of each other. The members of the state council were forbidden to participate in the discussions of the other two, but the financial and privy councillors and all the Knights of the Fleece could assist, at option, at the deliberations of the state council. The government was further administered

* Strada, i., p. 6 *et seq.*; Wagenaar, xxi., 57 *et seq.*; Hoofd, i., 21; P. C. Hoofd, *Nederlandsche Historien*, Amsterdam, 1656.

† The Count of Horn accompanied Philip to Spain. On his return he was added to this council, as was also the Duke of Aerschot.

‡ V. Meteren, i., 124.

DEPARTURE OF PHILIP II.

by stadtholders of the various provinces, arranged as follows: Brabant, being the seat of the regent's court, had no stadtholders; Flanders and Artois were given to Egmont; Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht to Orange; Guelders and Zutfen to Count of Meghen; Friesland, Groningen, and Overyssel to Count Aremberg; Hainault, Valenciennes, and Cambray to the Marquis of Berghen; Tournay and Tournaisis to Baron Montigny; Namur to Berlaymont; Luxemburg to Count Mansfield; Ryssel, Douay, and Orchies to Baron Courèires.

In Flanders the stadtholders were excluded from the administration of justice, but in all other provinces they were supreme judges in civil and criminal courts. Such was the government, different from any other then existing in Europe. The federal element was the predominating feature, each province really being autonomous in all its domestic affairs. The powers of the three councils were nicely planned to check and balance each other, and the regent at the head held all reins in hand.

But the best woven schemes that have grown gradually out of the body politic, like the plans of men, "gang aft agley," and here it soon became evident that the wheels of government so carefully arranged to interlock did not affect the machine because they failed to make connection and could only whir round futilely. The *Consulta* became the mainspring of all action, and that was composed of Viglius, Berlaymont, and Granvelle.

The states-general were not convened. The deliberations of the council of state were rendered

nugatory by everything being presented, cut and dried, instead of open for discussion, and the will of the Bishop of Arras was all-powerful and all-enacting. This, of course, was not apparent at first, but soon became manifest as months went on.

After Philip's departure, Margaret settled her court permanently at Brussels, in the palace of her predecessors, and entered seriously on the duties of administering the affairs of a commercial land, at peace with all neighbours.

The prince's first active duty was to convene the states of his new government and see that they promptly voted the sums they had been required to furnish as their quota. In the midst of this business came a requisition from the young French king for his hostage to hasten to Rheims, to be present at his coronation.* Margaret wrote from Brussels, September 13th.†

"The methods you have employed to persuade the Hollanders seem to have worked well. . . . It certainly would have been convenient if the French could have dispensed with your presence at this juncture, as I had great hopes from your services, but I trust your stay in France will be short, and if they use diligence in completing their cession you can arrange on our side the restitution of the stipulated places, according to his Majesty's commands that I should act as soon as I heard the French had taken steps on their side."

Then followed suggestions as to the disposition

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 46.

† In this month occurred the birth of Justin of Nassau.

of the hated Spanish troops, left under the joint command of Orange and Egmont.*

It is to be supposed that Orange duly fulfilled his mission to Rheims. By October 15th, he was back in Brussels, where he received the news that his father, Count William of Nassau, had breathed his last on the 6th of October, at the age of seventy-two. The prince had passed nearly his whole life away from his father, and under influences that might well have alienated a young man from parental traditions. But there was a strong clannish feeling among the Nassaus, and family affection was a potent factor in their actions. Orange had less to gain at his father's death than most young men of twenty-six. He was entirely independent in both action and purse, being indeed far richer than the count, although the latter was called "the Rich," as well as the Elder, a term which recognised the greater importance of the son.

On his accession to his cousin's property, the younger William had renounced the greater part of his Nassau inheritance, retaining only a certain lien on the ancestral castles for the sake of the titles. He now became, naturally, the head of the family, and as such received all honour and deference due the chief of the Nassaus, but the German acres very justly fell to the brothers who had clung to German soil.

* Orange resigned this charge before the departure of the troops in 1561.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## MARRIAGE PLANS.

## 1559–1561.

THE inauguration of the new government in the Netherlands was too engrossing to enable the prince to attend his father's funeral. October 15th he wrote * as follows to Louis, who was sharing with John the direction of family affairs:

"My Brother: I do not know how to express the bitterness which I felt on hearing of the death of our good father, to whom we were all so much indebted for the great love and affection which he bore us; but since such has been the will of God, we must bend to it, and further endeavour to follow his footsteps, so that the reputation of our House, which has always been with God's aid in good renown, shall not diminish, but rather increase. This can easily be achieved if his children live in good accord and love. You may rest assured, I shall never fail to fulfil my part—being sure that you will show the same spirit on

*Groen, *Archives*, i., 47.

your side. It especially behooves you other brothers to live together in good friendship and accord, and to take no step without due consideration, otherwise our House, whose reputation has always been so good, will deteriorate. . . .

"You, who know my affection for my brothers, may assure them of my sentiments. Try and assist Madame, our mother, according to the obligation we are under to her, and serve her and please her in all that you can, for you will only do your duty and agreeable service to God, which will reflect honour on you all your life.

"From Brussels this 15th of October.

"Your very good brother to command,

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU."

So much for the letter, which hardly could have been better, full of affection for the brothers and sisters, and quite free from exaggeration. A postscript follows:

"MY BROTHER: As to the journey which you were to make with the Count of Schwarzburg, for the business you know of, I beg you tell me what your plans are, and whether you expect to take the journey or not, so that I can arrange accordingly. I pray you to kiss for me the hands of Count Schwarzburg and of my sister Catherine, and to assure her that I will be a good brother to her all my life, as well as to Juliana and Magdalena, and though they have lost a father, they will find another in me. I beg you let me know what Count Schwarzburg has determined in regard to his marriage, and anything else going on there, and present my most humble duty to our mother.

"Your very good brother,

"WILLIAM."

The expression "the affair you know of," referred to a project of marriage * between the prince and Anne of Saxony, only child and heiress of Maurice of Saxony, and granddaughter of Philip of Hesse.

The question of this alliance has occupied a very prominent place in the history of the prince's life—far more so than it deserves.

One view of the case is as follows: Up to the time of meeting Anne, Orange was a faithful son of the Church, and Philip's devoted subject. Under the influence of the second wife, he was gradually weaned from the one and incited to rebellion against the other. Poor deformed Anne of Saxony, with her distorted view of life in general, her intolerable egotism, and love of position, has been represented as a second Helen, carrying destruction in her wake. Nothing could be further from the truth. Anne had no influence on any one, except her unfortunate self. The whole story of the wooing, the wedding, and the after events, is now well known. As has been said in the last chapter, a few months only after the death of Anne of Egmont, Orange began to consider the question of her successor. His overtures to Madame de Touteville † in France were fruitless—probably because the match was against

* The story of this marriage is taken chiefly from a monograph entitled *Het Huwelijk von Willem von Orange met Anna van Saxen*, R. C. Bakhuïzen van der Brinck, Amsterdam, 1853; and from an article by M. Böttiger, printed in the *Historisches Taschenbuch*, published by Von Raumer [1836, pp. 78-174].

† Madame de Touteville, daughter of Count de St. Pol, and widow of the Duc of Enghien. Her income was one hundred thousand francs, and she was only seventeen, and beautiful to boot.

the lady's inclinations. His next choice was Rénée of Lorraine, whose mother would, he hoped, be ruler of the Netherlands. This scheme also had come to nothing in a somewhat incomprehensible way.

Apparently Philip, Christina, and the bishop all favoured the project, when it was suddenly abandoned, owing, as Orange thought, to private wire-pulling on the part of king and prelate. When he selected another possible bride, he took pains, therefore, to keep his own counsel and to avoid taking Philip and the bishop into his confidence until matters were well under way.

This time he turned to Germany, and chose Anne of Saxony, only daughter of the late Elector Maurice. Anne's mother had married John Frederic of Saxony as her second husband, and her daughter had been brought up in Dresden, at the court of her uncle, Augustus, who had succeeded his brother Maurice on the usurped electoral seat, where, however, he did not feel very secure. If Maurice's daughter were to marry an enterprising German prince, or even baron, whose home affairs were not absorbing, there was no security that a claim might not be made on her behalf. Here was an opportunity of sending her safely out of the empire. Augustus was greatly pleased at the suggestion, and pushed forward the project by every means in his power.

There were, however, obstacles to be overcome on both sides. William of Orange was an officer and servant of the most Catholic monarch in Europe, while Anne's father, Maurice, had brought bitter mortification on that monarch's imperial father, and

her grandfather, Philip of Hesse (whose very name was a synonym for rampant Protestantism), had suffered grievously at the hands of that same imperial father.

Orange's letters* to Philip II. are diplomatic, to say the least. His most ardent admirers cannot deny that he lays the greatest stress on the fact that he has nothing more at heart than the "true religion," and that he would not think of marrying a wife who would not conform to its observance. Orange's lines were cast under an orthodox ruler, his life interests were on Catholic soil, and in the year of 1560 he had no idea of jeopardising those interests. A man who has seen both sides of a question never has the point of view of one who has looked in but one direction. He knew perfectly well there were sincere followers of both cults. His relatives were Protestants, his friends and comrades from youth up Romanists. He himself, like most young men whose interest is intensely in the life they are living, had no feelings that could properly be called religious. Church observances were a necessary part of the machinery of life, and he conformed to all rites as to other usages of court society. When writing to one whose bias in the matter took a different turn, the prince knew how to choose words and phrases calculated to sound well in the ears of the recipient. The Spanish monarch was propitiated by this letter. He did not give his consent at once, as the diplomatic suitor had not stipulated which niece of Augustus was the desired bride—but neither did he refuse it.

* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 430.

The sanction of Anne's chief kinsman, Philip of Hesse, was more difficult to obtain. He said that Orange was a nice enough young man as worldlings went, but he was an out-and-out Romanist, followed every bidding of the Church, ate no meat on fast days, etc. Then, too, he was very extravagant, spared no expense in his amusements, and had given one banquet in which even the table-cloth was made of sugar.*

It has been considered a proof of Philip of Hesse's own lack of sincerity in his religious profession that he was willing to give one of his own many daughters to Orange and to let her become a Catholic. I doubt whether he made any proposition of the kind. In conversation with Count Schwarzburg, Orange's envoy, the old man said that, rather than to give his consent to such a marriage for his daughter's daughter, offspring of a great elector, he would give his own child as bride to Orange. This is not necessarily equivalent to an offer of his child's hand, but simply a fashion of speech to express extreme unwillingness. Augustus tried to obtain a definite promise from the prince, in regard to the privileges of religion that Anne might hope to enjoy, in order to satisfy the grandfather.

The prince, however, would only, could only, considering his relations to Philip II., give a general promise that Anne should be well treated.

At that crisis, Orange would have found it difficult to do his own wooing, even had it been a far more attractive task than it was. Affairs in the governments committed to his charge were not in good run-

* The story is given in Strada, iii., 53.

ning order, and Margaret of Parma was constantly appealing to the prince for advice and aid.

The final settlement of the Cambray treaty, too, had not yet been made, and there is a letter* from the prince to Francis, written in December, 1559, saying that orders had been given for all restitutions on the part of Philip, and asking if it were necessary for him to repair to Péronne, whither Francis had summoned him. He probably was excused from the journey, as there is no further mention of it.

Thus closed the year of 1559, probably the last twelvemonth in which Orange was wholly devoted to the service of his Spanish master. The Saxon marriage necessarily brought a discordant element into their intercourse.

Another matter of more public importance began to create much dissatisfaction in the Netherlands, and finally proved to be one of the exciting causes of open revolt.† At the time of the abdication, the provinces were divided ecclesiastically into four sees, namely, Arras, Cambray, Tournay, and Utrecht. The last-named was under the Archbishop of Cologne, and the others under Rheims; thus in ecclesiastical matters there was German supremacy on one side and French on the other. There was, therefore, a certain propriety in creating an archbishop who should belong to the soil.‡

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* Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 428.

† See Wagenaar, xx., 62; Strada, ii., 32; Hoofd, i., 21, *et seq*; Renon de France, i. 10; Strada, ii, 31; Pontus Payen, i., 33.

‡ *Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas par* Renon de France, publiée par Charles Piot, Brussels, F. Hayez, 1886.

Many of the abbeys scattered through the land were very wealthy, and the slight jurisdiction hitherto maintained made them resent any attempt to exercise either papal or royal authority. The primates were elected by the monks, and they pursued the even tenor of their way with a good deal of zest in the pursuits of this life. The inmates of such convents were manufacturers and landed proprietors, and did not pay much attention to the heresies springing up about them. It seemed to Philip, therefore, only meet that all this wealth should serve other ends, and be made to support church officials who would be more active shepherds. Philip asked, and obtained of the Pope, Paul IV., a bull, dated May, 1559, which decreed the erection of three archbishoprics, namely, Mechlin, Cambray, and Utrecht. The first was to include the bishoprics* of Antwerp, Bois le Duc, Roermond, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; the second, Cambray, the four sees of Tournay, Arras, Saint Omer, and Namur; the third, Utrecht, comprised the dioceses of Harlem, Middelburg, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and Deventer. To Philip belonged the privilege of nominating all these new ecclesiastical officers, subject to papal approval. It was also stipulated in the bull that each bishop should appoint nine additional prebendaries to assist him in the matter of the inquisition, two of whom should be inquisitors. As the area of the provinces was less than one half of that of New York State, this provision of spiritual overseers seemed adequate, to say the least. It may well be imagined

* See Bor., i., p. 466. Wagenaar, xxi., 69 *et seq.* Hoofd, i., 26.

that where Protestantism had taken root in the land, and the small flocks established here and there held it an article of faith to regulate their own spiritual affairs within their congregation, the idea of this multiplicity of shepherds was not at all a pleasant one.

So much for public affairs. But these were not then the nearest to the prince's heart. Philip did not immediately reply to the letter of February 7th. In March, Granvelle wrote* a very specious epistle, mentioning the proposed marriage as something he should be very sorry to see take place. Indeed he never had, spite of all rumours to the contrary, seen the prince act against Philip's wishes, and he hoped that so prominent, and *probably* so loyal an officer of the most Catholic monarch's government, would not make a Protestant marriage. His method in his correspondence with Philip was to mention the nobles with apparent approval, interweaving little carping, sneering remarks among his commendatory phrases in a manner well calculated to arouse Philip's suspicions.

In October, 1559,† Louis of Nassau made the first formal overtures to this marriage in behalf of his brother. His proposals were followed by a special mission to Dresden of Count Schwarzburg, and George von Holl, that same captain to whom Anne of Egmont had given a present for his wife, in view of his future usefulness.

In April, 1560, the prince obtained permission‡

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 52.

† *Ibid.*, i., 49.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, i., 440.

from Margaret to go to Germany to see to the administration of his father's estate. He went in May, and was only absent a few weeks, but had an interview with Augustus at Deventer, where they discussed the matter, but found agreement difficult. Orange could not offend Philip of Spain by promising too much, and Augustus was afraid to ignore Philip of Hesse.

In November, Count Schwarzburg was married to Catherine of Nassau,* and the prince went to Germany to play the part of head of the house, in giving away the bride. Since the meeting at Deventer, the prince's own marriage plans had been hanging fire. The old landgrave persisted in withholding his consent, writing many quaintly expressed letters† to explain his reasons.

After his sister's wedding, Orange went to Dresden, where he stayed ten days, and "diligently went to church," which has been instanced as a mark of duplicity on his part. But that is no more than many a more humble suitor is willing to do in a ten days' visit to his fiancée's family. From that time on, Augustus had a powerful ally in his schemes for furthering the marriage, and was emboldened to defy the landgrave's expressed desires: that ally was the bride herself.

Anne of Saxony was born in 1544, and consequently, in 1561, was in her seventeenth year. She was not beautiful, being indeed slightly misshapen,‡

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 36.

† *Ibid.*, i., 62, *et al.*

‡ One of Augustus's arguments to the landgrave was, that if they lost this chance they might not marry her at all.

and was very headstrong, even at an age when young girls are not supposed to evince any will. Her inheritance from her father and maternal grandfather had left a marked impress on her character.

They were two of the most headstrong men in Europe and it was against nature to expect a child of their joint race to be the heir of only the traits of the gentle dames among her ancestors. The very qualities that gained intellectual leadership for the landgrave and had made the elector a masterful soldier, rendered poor Anne miserable and jealous at not being first, though nature had failed to give her the power of shining in the rank she desired. The stories of Orange's position at the court of Burgundy, always the most brilliant in Europe, fired Anne's imagination. When he came in person to Dresden, she was completely captivated by his courtly manner, more polished than that of the Germans. The graceful speeches of the courtier fell pleasantly on the ear of the young girl, unaccustomed to prettily turned phrases, and she, from thenceforth, desired the marriage with all the force of her obstinate, undisciplined nature.

Whether the prince were equally charmed is another question, but the alliance suited him, and if Anne lacked beauty she had other qualities which he counted as more important for his bride. On his return home Orange wrote to Granvelle * that his visit

* It is said that Orange was so intimate with Granvelle at this time that they often visited each other's rooms. When Orange returned to Brussels after an absence, he stopped at the cardinal's house before going home.—Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 5.

*Antonius Perenot Cardinael van Granvelle ceerste Aertsbisschop van Mechelen.*

CARDINAL GRANVELLE.

had been successful, though Augustus thought the wedding could not be solemnized before St. Bartholomew's Day, because there was so much to do. The block in the way had been the landgrave's consent, and this the elector was now determined to waive, saying that he had only pledged himself to inform the landgrave of Anne's marriage. Orange was more fortunate in regard to the consent of the Spanish Philip. That monarch had answered Orange's letter of February 7, 1560, in a non-committal way, saying that his sister would be a better judge of the matter than he.

During the intervening months, when it was uncertain whether the marriage would come off,* Granvelle mentioned the subject incidentally in his letters to Philip, always adding that he really hoped the project would fall through, for though the prince certainly had every appearance of being a Catholic, yet one could never tell what a man might do under alien influences, etc. After the Dresden visit, Orange wrote† again to Philip, definitely announcing his marriage. He did not ask permission, but gave his news in the spirit of a man who wished another, to whom he was under some obligation, to be properly informed of a step he had in view.

Philip's letter to Orange is not preserved, at least I have not seen it, but there is one to Granvelle, expressing his disappointment that the marriage had not fallen through, though he directed his sister to

* The bishop was now Cardinal Granvelle, and this is the name by which he is best known in history.—Groen, *Archives*, i., 63, *et al.*

† Mentioned in Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 5.

give consent, if there were no means of preventing it, adding: "I do not really understand how the prince *can* mate himself with the daughter of one who acted towards his Majesty, now in glory, as Duke Maurice did."*

Meanwhile Orange had persistently refused to sign any written agreement about Anne's future religious observances. He assured the bishop, the regent, and the king, that his wife should live as a Catholic, "catholically," dwelling, perhaps, more on his own unhappiness at any other state of things than was in accordance with his feelings. He would give no pledge to Philip of Hesse beyond the general statement that he would look after his wife's interests. With Augustus he treated the question lightly, as between men of the world. When the Electress of Saxony, to whom the matter was nearer at heart, begged for some definite promise, the prince wrote † rather flippantly that there was no need of troubling a young girl with melancholy topics. He would rather let Anne read the romances of Amadis de Gaule, and other books of pastime, than the Bible, and have her learn to dance a galliard instead of sitting at her sewing or knitting.

Mr. Motley has given a great deal of space to this marriage, eloquently defending my hero from the charge of hypocrisy. The gist of the matter is that Orange behaved with diplomacy, and the dividing line between that and hypocrisy depends upon the point of view. But under this diplomacy there is

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 64.

† Böttiger, in von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1st series.

certainly a sturdy independence. He was willing to put the affair in a pleasing light to the Spanish Philip, but he did not sue for his permission. The demand for the dismissal of the Spanish troops was his first act of independence, the Saxon marriage was his second. Nevertheless, he desired Philip's countenance and he resolutely refused to sign any document regarding Anne's religious observances, which Augustus wished to obtain in order to justify himself in the eyes of his German critics.

The prince's journey to Dresden and back was made the occasion of much banqueting and merry-making, where wine and beer were not spared. When Orange writes* to Augustus to thank him for his pleasant visit he says that he and his friends have drunk his health so many times that they are still feeling the ill-effects. In January he writes to Schwarzburg that he has arrived safely at Breda, although they made row † enough on the way, as Schwarzburg may have already heard.

"I assure you that I feel very solitary here, and cannot forget the good cheer we had together; I long to be with you and not only for your sake, but then I should be near '*fraielle 'Ainge.*' I have not yet been at court, as I am obliged to make a trip to Holland, so that I have no news."

The above-mentioned trip to Holland was at Margaret's request, to obtain money from the states.‡ The hard frost and subsequent thawing made travel-

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 67.

† *Assez de désordre sur le chemin.—Ibid.*, i., 68.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 7, Orange to Duchess.

ling difficult, and the purse-strings of the states proved as hard as the frost.

They were only willing to give a certain sum, on their own conditions, to which the regent objected, and the envoy's task of reconciliation proved no sinecure.

March 2d, the old landgrave wrote * a polite and detailed letter to Orange, explaining why it was impossible to allow Anne to marry him. Having exhausted his objections on the score of religion, he adds that, aside from those, which are unsurmountable, he could not think of permitting an alliance, where the very names of the future children were uncertain. Orange's children by his first marriage must necessarily take precedence, and it was not suitable for the grandchildren of the great Elector Maurice to take a second place. But it had already been determined to dispense with the old grandfather's consent, when it became evident that it could not be wrung from him, and the preparations went gaily forward.

In March, Orange writes † as follows to Louis:

"I have decided to send some one to the duke, to declare verbally my intention [probably concerning the vexed question of religion] and certain other things that you will hear from my German secretary. I am thinking of begging you to do me this pleasure and take this trouble, and affectionately ask you to go to the said duke

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 81.

† *Ibid.*, p. 93.

and discuss the affair with him very privately, taking as your guide the enclosed memorandum and the advices of my secretary. . . .

"I beg you, too, to press the maiden's hand for me, and tell her how I envy you in having the luck to see her, when I cannot. Thank her for the warm affection she shows me in her letters, and say that I beg her, since the day is fixed for her marriage, and matters so advanced, to continue in the same affection, and not let herself be persuaded into prolonging the affair. If any one tries to put some obstacle in her head regarding religion or anything else, tell her to rest assured, that for my part I will try my best to live with her, so that she will be content. If they try to put any notion in her head, to increase the difficulties, it seems to me the best answer to silence everybody is to say, "If it be decreed by God that this affair reach a happy termination, we will agree together," and by this means they will cease their talk. I beg you to persuade her of this, for you know very well the effect of continual chatter. I am very sorry to give you this trouble, and sorry, too, to lose your company for so long, but it need only be an affair of a fortnight.

"As to the chase of Holland, my commission is come from Spain, and the king has also given me the government of Burgundy.

"I have had a present of the prettiest hunting dog in the world, white as snow. I took a heron yesterday on a very high flight, which lasted a quarter of an hour, mounting all the time.

"Entirely your very good and affectionate brother, ready to obey you,

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

"BRUSSELS, March 23, 1561."

Louis was a faithful emissary, and Anne a ready pupil, for she shortly wrote * to the prince, after mentioning the pressure brought to bear by her grandfather: "My feelings towards your Highness are the same as when I last wrote, and I mean to bide by it, for I firmly believe that what God has decreed, the devil cannot hinder."

It was after this meeting that the elector sent a "little document" to Orange, in which it was stipulated that Anne should have Protestant services, evangelical christening for her children, and also a better dower house than Hadamar. It was one of the landgrave's grievances that such shabby provision was made for the possible widowhood of a great elector's daughter.

Louis sent † this little document to his brother, with the comment ‡ that it was rather strange, comprehensive, and finical, advising William to have nothing to do with it. Indeed, it would have been impossible for Orange to have signed this paper § with his then relations to Philip, and his ever distinguishing characteristic of prudence kept him from so self-destructive an act. To verbal assurances he was resolved to confine himself—and he kept to that resolution.

* Arnoldi, *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 122; see, also, *Het Huwelijk*, etc., p. 59.

† Groen, *Archives*, I., 101.

‡ Etwas soltsam, weitlaufig und spitzfindig.

§ The story of the document and the part it afterward played at the wedding, is taken from Motley, as I have not seen the Dresden Archives, see *Rise of Dutch Republic*, i., 296 *et seq.*

Augustus evidently did not make the signature a *sine qua non.* Perhaps he felt as Louis did, that it would be a disgrace to draw back at that stage, and, in spite of this refusal, the preparations went on for the celebration of the wedding on St. Bartholomew's Day—a date that would scarcely have been chosen a dozen years later.

The following letter* from Orange to Louis is noteworthy.

"My brother, since the wedding day is appointed, please inquire particularly of Count Schwarzburg, if you see him, about the arrangements I should make for the journey to Dresden; whether I should take a large escort from here, what present I should give the bride and brides'maids, where he thinks it would be best to make the wedding journey, or if there is no need of making one, what Germans should be invited, and many other things which you think I ought to know. Pray find out how the bride will be dressed and also what colors the princess considers hers."

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 103.

# CHAPTER IX.

## THE WEDDING.

1561.

THE prince was desirous that the Netherland nobles should accompany him to Leipsic where the marriage ceremony was to be performed. But Margaret refused permission, protesting that she could not be left alone in the government, and Montigny, appointed by Philip to be his personal representative, was the only important Netherland gentleman present on the occasion.* The king further testified his approval

* Richard Clough writes to Sir Thomas Gresham as follows (Burgon, *Life of Sir T. Gresham*, i., 390): "The Prynsse of Orange is departtyd for Docheland to be maryed to the daughter of Duke Marysse with a small company. For whereas he thought to have had dyvers nobellmen of thys countrie with him there ys commandment geven by the king that no man in all thys lowe countrie bearing any offys shall go with him on payne of losing his offys and the king's displeasure besydes with expresse words because they shall not be infected with any of the heresies that is youssed in that countrie. What matter it ys thought that the Duchess will not take in good part; which in the end may fall out ill: for the Prynsse is now waxing grette by this marriage and presently his offyssers do sell most of the land he hath in thys countrie."

of the marriage by asking Margaret to buy a ring for the bride.*

Philip of Hesse on the other hand would not countenance the occasion in any way, and warned the elector that he need not waste his invitation on *his* family. He insisted that an innocent young girl was to be sacrificed and exposed to untold dangers. But many other notable guests took part in the festivities, though the Netherland nobles were kept at home and the Hesse family held aloof. Dukes, electors, margraves, archbishops, and town councillors accepted their invitations and did not fail to appear.

Every guest was requested to bring his own cooks and butlers, tableware and kitchen utensils, but they were hospitably assured that cheer should be provided. All the chief guests were invited to dine daily with the elector in the town house, the electorial residence being under repair, where they were waited on by a brilliant collection of gentlemen and noble pages who had been ordered to assemble at Leipsic on August 22d.

The regulations to be followed by the youths are still preserved in the Dresden Archives.† There was a special injunction to abstain from drinking and from all riotous conduct whatsoever, while the sovereigns and potentates were at dinner. "It would be

* He sent a draft of 3000 crowns for the purpose.—*Corr. of Margaret*, 184. *Correspondance de Marguerite d' Austriche, Duchesse de Parma, avec Philippe II., publiée par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Brussels, Delevigne et Callewaert*, 1842.

† Motley, i., 312 *et seq.*

shameful impropriety, if the foreign quality, when at table, could not hear their own words, on account of the screaming of the attendants." * All Leipsic was given up to festivals, and the usual police force of two, which the city boasted, was increased to ten. Fifty arquebusiers were appointed to protect the town house, and a burgher watch of six hundred were distributed through the city, to guard against fire.†

Saturday, August 23d, Orange, with a thousand friends, arrived at Meneburg, and on the following day, Augustus rode out to meet him accompanied by four thousand followers. Escorted by this whole troop, the prince entered Leipsic and dismounted at the town house, where he was received by Anne, at the top of the staircase. After greeting her bridegroom, she immediately retired with her women, to don her bridal array. When she was arrayed, according to the papers Mr. Motley found in the Dresden Archives, the wedding party went before Wolf Seidel, notary, in an upper room of the town house. William was accompanied by Count John of Nassau, and Heinrich von Wiltberg; Anne, by Sophia von Miltitz and the councillors Hans von Ponika and Ulrich Woltersdorff.

One of the councillors, in behalf of the elector, addressed the prince and asked him if he remembered the contents of a memorandum sent him the 14th of April, by the terms of which the prince was

* A list of the guests present at the wedding is given in the appendix.

† Motley, i., 313 *et seq.*

to promise to use neither threat nor persuasion to induce his wife to abandon the Augsburg Confession, but to allow her to go where she could receive the sacraments, and in case of need have them administered in her chamber, and that her children should be instructed in the Augsburg doctrines. The councillor proceeded to say that, as the prince had for various reasons declined making any such agreement in writing, it had been arranged that he should, in the presence of the bride and witnesses, make a verbal promise. The memorandum* was then read, and the prince said :

" Gracious elector, I recall the writing you sent me on the aforesaid date. All the points mentioned by the Doctor were comprised in it, and I herewith say that, I will keep to it as becomes a prince, and promise the same to his Electoral Highness with my hand."

This declaration was simply to justify the elector to his Protestant peers. It meant nothing on the part of the prince, beyond what he had already said, and no one was deceived by it. On the whole, Orange had acted with all the straightforwardness that was possible, considering his position between two fires.

These private formalities concluded, the bridal procession, headed by the court marshal, councillors, and great officers of state, and the electoral family, entered the great hall of the town house. The marriage ceremony was then performed by the superintendent, Doctor Pfeffinger. Immediately afterwards,

* Dresden Archives, Motley, i., 577.

and in the same hall, the bride and bridegroom were placed publicly upon a splendid gilded bed, with gold embroidered curtains, the princess being conducted thither by the elector and electress. Confects and spiced drinks were served to the newly wedded pair and the assembled company. After this ceremony, the prince and princess were shown to their respective apartments, to dress for dinner. Before they left the hall, Margrave Hans of Brandenburg, on the part of the elector, solemnly recommended the bride to her husband, exhorting him to cherish her with faith and affection, and to leave her undisturbed in the recognised truth of the holy gospel and right use of the sacraments. Then followed a sumptuous banquet, while the bands played the merriest and most ingenious music. The tables were removed after the repast, and dancing followed in the same apartment.

On the day after, at seven o'clock, a procession was formed to escort the young couple to the church of St. Nicholas, to receive a blessing on the marriage already solemnised. Doctor Pfeffinger again made a long address and pronounced the blessing from the altar, after which the prince and princess, with their attendants, returned to the town house.

The wedding ceremonies were therefore conducted entirely according to the Lutheran form of the civil marriage first, followed by a benediction in church. There was no pretence of anything else, spite of the presence of Philip's envoy.

Religious observances in Germany were on the *ut possedetis* system. As the rules of the soil, so the

church cult, and in the eyes of all Europe, it was as fitting that Augustus should celebrate his niece's marriage, after the Lutheran manner in Saxony, as it was that she should consent to live "catholically" when she was in the Netherlands, with Philip as liege lord.

Three days of feasting and tournament followed. Leipsic was gayest of the gay. As an old poem * says, "there was no room for sorrow." September 1st, the prince put an end to all these gayeties by departing with his newly made princess, accompanied a little distance by the elector, who reluctantly bade his niece farewell, commending her anew to her husband.

The landgrave allowed the prince to take his bride through Hesse, but did not invite them to stop for his blessing. However, the old man put aside his wrath, when the deed, against which he had so strongly protested, was an accomplished fact, and in January sent a special messenger to Breda, with a gold chain for Anne, and a grandfatherly letter for the prince.† Anne sends him a "thousand good nights" for his gift, and assures him she could not be happier, or better treated, if she were a queen. A few months later, the landgrave wrote again to Anne, asking if she kept true to her father's religion, to which she responds respectfully, but in general terms, that no one could be as happy as she.

Had the Hessian Philip known what was going on in the little principality, whose name his new

* The Wedding of the Prince of Orange, Hague Archives.

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 118, 123.

grandson bore, during these years of '60 and '61, he would have thought his worst fears realised.*

Protestantism had crept into Orange, from Geneva, at an early stage of the Reformation. The propinquity to Avignon, the Pope's own dominion, made this especially obnoxious to the head of the Church, who wrote to the prince remonstrating at the spread of the new ideas.† Orange answered as a faithful son of the Church, promising to do his best to stamp out the growing heresy. It is an odd letter from a man whose name, later, became the very symbol of Protestantism.

Through the spring of '61, the prince corresponded with Granvelle on the best means of regulating religious affairs in Orange, submitting, for the prelate's approval, an edict of general pardon to all participants in recent religious troubles.

He was especially anxious to impress on Granvelle, that the mildness of his proposed measure was from policy not sympathy, and he would regret being misunderstood. Granvelle suggested ‡ the alteration of a few phrases, lest the culprits might think they were justified in sinning again. This pardon, called the "July Edict," was duly published. While it evinced a wish to avoid exterminating the Protestant inhabitants of Orange, it was entirely in the interests of "our true and ancient religion," as he words it.

There is no account of festivities in honour of the

* Arnaud, *Histoire des Protestants de Vaucluse et d'Orange.*

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 119

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 16.

young princess, which undoubtedly were given in Brussels. The bridegroom had not a long honeymoon of leisure, as he found an accumulation of work awaiting him. There were many matters in Holland that required his attention, and the regent was especially anxious that the newly appointed bishops should be put in peaceful possession of their sees.

There is a pleasant letter * of January 6th, from the prince's mother, who turns to him naturally, as her eldest and distinguished son. She is troubled about Henry's education, hopes that God will permit him to become worthy of serving his brother.

It is curious, indeed, to see the whole family turn towards that one member, with an evidently sincere wish to serve him, and further what he may desire. Juliana apologises for wearying her son with her children, but has no one else to apply to.

While Leipsic was gay with wedding festivities, Granvelle had made his entry into Mechlin, as archbishop. He had been welcomed with ill suppressed jeers instead of welcoming cheers, as opposition to the new ecclesiastical régime was rife in the land. He had also received his cardinal's hat and was henceforth known as Cardinal Granvelle.†

The newly made prince of the Church was all disposed to forget Anthony Perrenot's modest origin, and to demand every inch of precedence over the Flemish nobles, afforded him by his ecclesiastical rank.

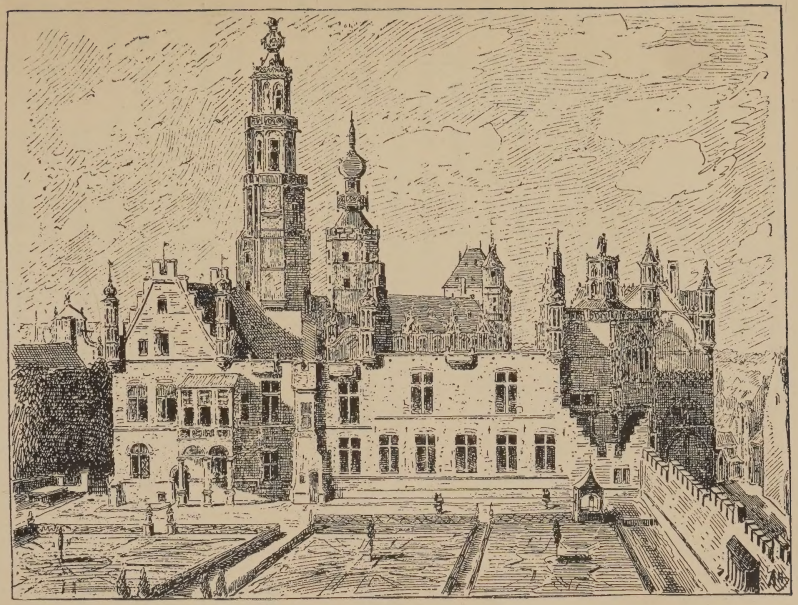
* Groen, *Archives*, i., 122.

† His name was Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle.

On Orange's return to court life, and to the sessions of the council, he found a changed atmosphere. Perhaps his head was a trifle turned by the fêtes of Leipsic, as Granvelle's was by his new dignity. As I have said, Anne's influence on her husband was slight from the beginning, but her nature was essentially mean and jealous, and it may have been that her continual nagging, in the early days of their marriage, had some effect in making the prince feel that he was not treated with all the respect due to his own position, and to the son-in-law of an imperial elector. As Anne wrote to her grandfather, at first she was as happy as a queen. But as soon as the novelty and gloss of her new surroundings had worn off, the thorns among her roses pricked her, and the question of precedence began to trouble her greatly. But her husband did not need the grumblings of a discontented girl to make him aware of the fact that he and his Netherland colleagues were not treated suitably. The composition of the government has been given.* The council of state was the body in which all administrative affairs of the government were nominally lodged, and on whose officers all responsibility of action rested. From the very beginning of the new administration,† Orange, Egmont, Aerschot, Horn, and de Glayon had found that business was continually presented before this council, after it had been decided on in a secret committee, called the *Consulta*, consisting of Viglius, Berlaymont, and Granvelle.

* *Vide* ch. vii.

† Pontus Payen, i., 55 ; Wagenaar, xxi., 68



NASSAU PALACE IN BRUSSELS.

As these decisions were published as the acts of the whole council, this method was naturally exasperating to the members forced to be silent partners against their will. This mode of procedure began in 1560, but Orange was then still on good terms with Granvelle, was still in the position of a young man looking up to a guide, philosopher, and friend, and the bishop could not forget the page in the rising statesman. In the winter of '61-'62 affairs were on a different footing. Granvelle had received a cardinal's hat, which might in due time be exchanged for a papal tiara. The *Consulta* arrogated more and more authority, and every one knew that Viglius and Berlaymont were but lay figures, and the dislike to the cardinal grew strong.*

It became very difficult for the government to raise money in face of the public discontent, and in June, the regent was forced to appeal to Orange for aid in persuading the people to contribute the necessary funds.

In France, the affairs of the Protestants were looking up, and about this time the idea first occurred to Orange, that, if aid could come from both sides at once, a successful protest might be made in the provinces against inquisitorial and monarchical encroachments on the ancient liberties of the land. It was possibly in the hopes of putting this scheme in train, that the prince desired to be sent as an envoy to the Frankfort diet held for the election of the King of the Romans. This request was refused, and he then

* Burgon, ii., p. 20. In March Gresham wrote: "The Cardinall ys here clean out of repeutacione of all the nobills."

demanded permission to go to Germany on his private affairs. The permission did not arrive in time to suit his convenience, so he set off without it.

Nor was Philip's permission the only thing he put aside for the sake of seeing the German nobles together. A few days after his departure Anne's first child was born. Gaspar Schetz wrote* to announce this event, and to tell him that the baby seemed so weakly at birth, that it was necessary to baptise it at once, and as there was no one else at hand his wife had taken it on herself to stand god-mother, though feeling the honour to be greater than became her. Schetz adds, that the prince is thus relieved from the necessity of choosing god-parents, a matter they had been considering. The child's life probably was very short, as neither name nor sex is mentioned. The baptism was performed with all due Catholic ceremonies. After his return, Orange wrote † to Philip, thanking him for having approved his journey, which he really would not have taken had not his affairs been very pressing.

The following letter ‡ from Louis is so characteristic, that I give it entire:

"Monsieur, this evening I received letters from Count Nuenar in which he mentioned that he had received no answer from the Countess of Bentham to the letters he had written her about the Rytberg affair,§ she being still

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 138.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 34.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, i., 145.

§ This referred to a scheme of Louis's marriage with a rich young widow.

in Friesland with her daughter, wife of the late monsieur de Rytberg, and as she still does not return, he has found it necessary to send his agent thither, under pretext of condolence, to find out from Hulchenbrocht's agent the final decision of the grandmother and mother, which I call a good idea, as it is well known that the lady has many suitors. I see from your letters, how much trouble you have taken in this affair with the Duke of Cleves, and my brother and sister of Nuenar, for which I cannot thank you enough, except to try to deserve your kindness, with my very skin. As to the Königstein matter, I don't know what to say. He makes such strange propositions, that it is difficult to see what the outcome will be. If they would only treat in accordance with your instructions we could have finished the affair right up, but with the pretexts that they put forward, no money will be lent, as the risk is too great. I have had more than three letters from the young landgrave, about the post: I wrote to ask your pleasure, and I should think you ought to have received my letter some time ago. He also begged me, to ask you from him to write oftener to his father, at least once a week, even if you have no news, for the old man said once,* 'I think I put that post in for nothing. They are a long time in writing to me.'

"I should think you might send him Italian news, if you hear nothing from France; . . . You should give orders at the Cologne House, how Brussels letters are to be forwarded, for messengers are very expensive at Cologne.

"It makes me sick at the stomach, Sir, when I read what daily pleasure you are taking in your falconry, at the thought that I cannot be there. I will make all pos-

* "*Mich dünckt, ich hab die post vergebens gelegt, man schreibt mir langsam.*"

sible haste to come. We have little enough pastime here. Indeed we get up every morning before six, to work before and after dinner.*

"I hope you will train me so well to business, that you will be well served in everything you require from me, and I will spare no pains to do my best. Adolf begs you to tell him everything that the Duke of Cleves said to you, since he was not overpleased. For the rest, he will act in accordance with what you wrote to John.

"Entirely your obedient brother and servant,

"LOUIS OF NASSAU.

"P. S. A gentleman from the emperor's suite, called Herr Poppel, is on his way to Brussels. You supped with him once in his lodging at Frankfort, and he deserves to be well received [to have people make grand *recado*], for the emperor is very fond of him. He wants to see the whole of the Netherlands, in which you will be able to help him. The emperor made a special mention of him to me on leaving Speyer.

"DILLENBURG, Jan. 20, 1563."

There was so much unravelling of the family affairs to be done, that on March 10th, Louis writes† again, regretting that he cannot yet get off to the Netherlands. The debts amount to 300,000 florins, and if they had not been taken in hand just then, they would have augmented in a way to make the estate feel it for fifty years. Louis adds, that the condition of things was so bad that they resolved not to stir until they had instituted some kind of order. Certain of the more intelligent employees,

* Dinner at Dillenburg was at half-past ten in the morning.

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 149.

2.

..... Nous auons peu de passe tems
icy car nous sommes leurs tous
les iours deuant les six heures
pour negotier deuant et apres dis-
ner, espere que me accoustumeres
tant de negotier que vous pourres
tant mieulx seruir en tout ce quil
vous plaira me commander.....

Louis de Nassau

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER. JAN. 20, 1563.

seeing that there was such utter confusion, asked dismissal, because they saw no help, and could not bear to await the misery that they thought inevitable. "What words these were for us to hear you can well imagine." The brothers exerted themselves to the utmost and to such good effect, that they saw the way clear to reducing the weight of the debt by 60,000 florins before Whitsuntide. Then Louis drops into German—as was his custom in these familiar letters* to his brother: "There is little pastime before me, as we meet at five o'clock every morning, except Sunday, and we certainly have, at least, three weeks' work before us, and then I will do my best to help your Excellency as far as I can, with my very ordinary understanding and the aid of God." It does not look as though William the elder had deserved his appellation of "Rich."

With the new year, the nobles' irritation † against Cardinal Granvelle waxed stronger, until all pretence of friendly relations ceased. In 1562, Baron Montigny went to Spain, to represent to Philip the general dissatisfaction felt in the Netherlands, and to urge him to come north himself and see what could be done. Just before the new year he returned, and his account of Philip's light treatment of their grave difficulties made the nobles furious.

Montigny had made a verbal protest. In March, Orange, Egmont, and Horn took a bold and decisive step.‡ They wrote a joint letter to Philip, pro-

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 150.

† See Hoofd, ii., 39 *et seq.*; Wagenaar, xxi., 72; Strada, iii., 71.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 35.

testing against Granvelle's arrogance, in terms as plain and unvarnished as epistolary etiquette permitted. They say that, painful as the duty is, they cannot see the hearts of Philip's faithful subjects alienated from their sovereign by the cardinal's mismanagement. They all assure Philip that the affairs of religion are very near their hearts, but that its interests are greatly endangered. "And lest your Majesty may be led to think that we have drawn up this remonstrance for our private advantage, we ask to be removed from the council of state, as we deem it useless to remain there longer, considering our dissatisfaction with the cardinal." The nobles did not find it consistent with their loyalty to their liege, *not* to tell him what a detriment to the welfare of the provinces the cardinal was.

Strange to say, Granvelle had exactly the same impression, and felt it his bounden duty to inform Philip that he was not satisfied with affairs. It did not seem to him exactly right for gentlemen, who were after all but vassals, to make secret leagues against their sovereign.* Perhaps Philip would not mind, but it did hurt his feelings to see his master's authority set aside, as it was daily. Would it not be a good plan to find nice positions for the Netherland nobles in Italy or Spain? Sicily, perhaps, would be a safe and excellent field for the Taciturn's energies. Never were more clever letters than those of Granvelle, well calculated to breed a deep-seated distrust in such a mind as Philip's—distrust which no argument or reasoning could ever eradicate.

* March 10th, Granvelle to Philip. Groen, *Archives*, i., 151.

Undoubtedly Philip's authority was in danger. The nobles were still true to their master. Had they not been, or had they been Protestants, there was every temptation now to take an independent stand.

In France, the Protestants were still numerous and hopeful, in spite of unsuccess. In Germany, a scheme was set on foot by Wolfgang, Count Palatine, son-in-law of the landgrave, to form a league among the princes, obtain what aid they could from the Low Countries, and having united Brabant to the imperial circle, to free Condé, now a prisoner, and form a strong alliance with the reformed party of France.

Orange's brother-in-law, Schwarzburg, tried his best to further this scheme, but finally wrote to say that it had fallen through.*

The secret was told to too many people, and the queen,† "the old one of France," at once took vigorous measures to nip the project in the bud.

Couriers could reach Spain in about ten days, and by the beginning of April the nobles looked for a response to their letter of March 11th. The dilatory monarch, however, did not write till June 6th.‡ After expressing his conviction, that the gentlemen were moved by zeal in his service, he assures them that he is coming back to the Netherlands very soon, and "will remedy everything by my presence." Meantime, perhaps it might be well if one of the

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 156–158.

† Catherine de Medici.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 41.

three nobles were to come to Spain, and tell him the details of their objections, as it was easier to "perfectly explain" by word of mouth than by letter.*

To this the nobles replied that it would not be safe for any one of them to absent himself at this crisis, and they enclose a copy of a request to Margaret, to permit them to withdraw from the council, until the old order changes.

A few days later, Orange † wrote a careful letter to his German grandfather-in-law, explaining, step by step, the reasons for the dissatisfaction against Granvelle, the terms of the joint letters that he, Egmont and Horn had written to Philip, and their determination to withdraw from the council, as long as Granvelle remained.

This letter is addressed "To the Landgrave of Hesse, and *mutatis mutandis* to William of Hesse, and the Elector of Saxony." Through these gentlemen, Orange probably hoped to have the matter come to the ears of the imperial family, before they were influenced by their Spanish cousin. "If this be treason, make the most of it," was his attitude. It is a thoroughly honest, straightforward letter. The nobles still left the way open for a complete reconciliation with their sovereign, did he see fit to redress the misgovernment to which they called his attention.

In answer to this ‡ letter, William of Hesse wrote to Orange, that both he and his father knew Granvelle through and through, and they could only hope

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 42–47.
† Groen, *Archives* i., 165.
‡ *Ibid.*, 210.

that the prince would suffer less from that prelate's* machinations, than they had in 1552.†

Matters dragged on, and while public complications grew more involved, the family affairs of the Nassaus were not much more satisfactory. Louis's wooing of the Rytberg heiress did not progress, owing, Orange thought, to lack of energy on the part of their brother-in-law,‡ who had attempted to negotiate the affair. The dowry would have been very welcome just then, as Orange was hard pressed for funds. He writes§:

"It is marvellously *mal à propos* that the Jew failed us with the 20,000 florins for the reason you know. I sent my German secretary to the said Jew, to see if he would not withdraw the conditions he made, that you and my brother John should give him a land mortgage, making the tenants and officers responsible in default of payment."

The situation at court grew more and more strained. Alva ‖ wrote to Philip: "Every time I see the dispatches of these three Flemish nobles, I feel my anger rising, so that if I did not try to temper my choler, I believe my opinion would seem to you that of a mad man." ¶

* He calls Granvelle "the Red Hat."

† The landgrave constantly referred to the substitute of *ewig* for *einig*, in the treaty, which he thought due to Granvelle.

‡ Count Nuenar was not a satisfactory brother-in-law, as there are numerous references to the unhappiness he caused "our poor sister."

§ Groen, *Archives*, i., 173.

‖ *Ibid.*, i., 175. *Corr. of Philip II.*, i. 271. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, par M. Gachard, Brussels, 1848.

¶ "Cada vez que veo los despachos de aquellos tres señores Flamencos, me mueven la colera, de manera que, si no procurasse mucho templarla, creo pareceria à V. M. mi opinion de hombre frenetico."

He cannot understand, how any vassal dare have so much impudence. Not one iota ought to be changed on account of this enmity towards the cardinal. At about the same time, Granvelle wrote : *

"There are two leaders among the higher nobles, the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont ; the latter is a good servant of your Majesty, upright, sincere, and firm in religion. But the Prince of Orange is a dangerous man, sly, full of ruses, pretending to support the people, and to consider their interests even against your edicts, seeking only the favour of the populace, appearing sometimes Catholic, sometimes Calvinist, and sometimes Lutheran. He is capable of any underhand deed that might be inspired by an unlimited ambition. It would be a good plan to remove him from Flanders. He might be honourably withdrawn under pretext of an embassy, a brilliant mission, or perhaps a vice-royalty. You might even invite him to Spain. The count was one of the first to allow himself to be led astray, but it would be easy to win him back just by making him see he is preferred to the prince."

The popular protest against inquisitorial measures came to an outburst in Valenciennes during the autumn of '63. Count de Berghes, under whose jurisdiction the town was placed, was so unwilling to enforce the required measures, that he absented himself from his government as much as possible. Granvelle wrote to Philip, that it was impossible to expect order when the governors were lukewarm.

In a letter † to Louis in October, on the subject of his hoped-for marriage, the prince mentions incidentally that he hopes the troubles "between the

* Groen, *Archives*, i, 177.

† *Ibid.*, 178.

LAMORAAL, GRAAF VAN EGMONDT.
Dit is Egmondt dien de nijdt van Alva hielp van kant,
De dappre Veldtheer, schildt en spoer van Neederlandt;
T hoofd daer tot vreemaal toe heel Vrankrijk voor meest beeven.
De Spre door Zijnen hals dee recht en vrijheit Spreeven.
G. Brandt.

LAMORAL, COUNT OF EGMONT.

cardinal and us others," will soon end, and encloses an extract from a letter which the Archbishop of Cambray wrote Granvelle, " by which you can see the good intentions and the good friendship which they bear to the German princes. . . . If you chance to see the young landgrave, show him this extract but do not, I beg you, let him have a copy, as I am told that some of his people are in the cardinal's pay." No one had better reason to fear espionage than the prince himself. How could he know what passed between two ecclesiastics, who would never have taken him into their confidence, had not there been unfaithfulness in their households?

The prince had many difficulties about raising the loan before referred to. In November he writes * again to Louis, that he is sorry to hear, that Marshal Roltzhamer refused to risk his money unless John and Louis would give a mortgage on some seignory, and order their agent to pay him the interest at Frankfort.

" Certainly these are hard conditions and I am sorry enough to put you to this inconvenience on my account, but in these times one must make use of one's friends. But I can promise you one thing, that I will take care you do not suffer real damage, or annoyance, for I do not intend that the mortgage shall run on over a year, as the conditions are so hard. I have reason to hope that I can soon recover a considerable sum of money. I will not say much about thanks, either to you or John, for the great favour you do me of giving this bond ; for between brothers there is no need of compliments, since I am

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 184.

sure that you know how willingly I would do you service in anything you would wish to employ me."

Then follows allusion to public affairs, and his principality troubles, and then; "We celebrated St. Martin very jovially, for there was a right merry company assembled here. Monsieur de Brederode was in such a state one day, that I thought he would surely die, but he is better now."

Anxiety about public affairs did not keep the worthy Flemish nobles from thoroughly enjoying even their protests in company.

In December of this year Gaspar Schetz* gave a supper party, at which all the chief nobles assembled. Wine was not spared, the atmosphere was congenial, late events had been exasperating, and they expressed their opinions of the cardinal freely,† the epithets heaped on the unfortunate prelate growing stronger, as the cups went round. None of these gentlemen were economical in their expenditures, but the luxury and pomp in which Gran-

* Hoofd, i., 36. This Gaspar Schetz, seignior of Grobbendonck was Philip's financial agent, and also high in the friendship of the nobles, as is evident from his action at the time of the birth of Anne's child. Unfortunately for his reputation he was, according to Sir Thomas Gresham (Burgon, i., 366), also regularly in the pay of that gentleman, and accepted valuable presents from the English government. In Gresham's letters Schetz's name was written in cipher, and when his own letters were enclosed, there was always a request, that, "for dyvers reasons, as soon as the queen had considered them, they might be burnt." How much the Netherland nobles knew of these transactions is uncertain.

† Pontus Payen says that Brederode often went to masquerades dressed as a cardinal, or a Franciscan. He was aided and abetted in all his follies by his cousin Robert de la Mark, Seignior of Lumey, another madcap.—I., 59

velle indulged, was very obnoxious to their feelings. It was finally suggested that they should unite in showing their contempt for the gorgeous array of his retinue, by adopting a severely simple livery for their people. Dice were thrown to determine who should design the proposed dress and the lot fell on Egmont.* In a few days, his design was carried out, and his retainers were the first to appear clothed in the new costume, which consisted of a plain doublet and hose of coarse grey frieze, with long hanging sleeves. An ornament was embroidered on the sleeves, which is described as being, either a fool's cap and bells, or a monk's cowl. It is not quite plain whether this means that some liveries had the former, and others the latter, or that the outline was not clear from the diminutive size of the device. There was no doubt, however, as to whom this costume was meant to hit. The idea ran like wildfire through Brussels, and the stock of frieze was exhausted in a few days. The first device was soon replaced by a bundle of arrows, typifying the unity of the nobles in the cause. This dress was known as the fool's livery, and accomplished what protocols and petitions failed to do. Public opinion ran so high against Granvelle, that even the spider in the Escurial could blind his eyes no longer to the fact that the cardinal was not a useful servant in the Low Countries.

Several months passed, to be sure, before any outward change was made. Philip wrote to the nobles that he could not understand why they kept

* Strada, iv., 78. Hoofd, i., 36. Renon de France, i., 29. Wagenaar, xxi., 86.

away from the council, and he could not consider any general complaints against the cardinal. That gentleman, had, however, already received a secret letter * from his royal master, saying that he was really worried by the nobles' dislike of his dear friend and servant, and that it might be as well, if the prelate were to ask permission to visit his mother.

Margaret had orders to grant this request, and all would pass smoothly and naturally, without giving the nobles ground for thinking that their remonstrances had had weight. Secrecy was as difficult to observe in Brussels then, as now in the days of reporters, and vague rumours were afloat in the city, long before there was any definite knowledge of the cardinal's departure. As late as March 5th, Orange writes † in a letter to Louis: "It is a sure thing that our man is going. I hope he will go so far, that he can never return." Street wit was at its busiest. Pasquinades were pasted up, ‡ and pamphlets were published, in which the cardinal was openly ridiculed, in a way that would have been impossible, had not his going been sure.

On March 13th, he left Brussels, and there was wild joy through the city. One Lorich, a retainer

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 67.

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 214.

‡ In the appendix will be found a specimen of squibs written on the hated prelate. Youthful wit changes little in three centuries. Pontus Payen (i., 64) relates that immediately after Granvelle's departure, some of his ill wishers pasted on his door a paper containing the words "For sale" [à vendre]. In 1889, when Boulanger thought Brussels was unsafe and fled hastily from that refuge to London, the same words were affixed to his vacated abode.

of the Nassau family, who seems to have been in charge of young Henry at Louvain, writes to Louis:

"My gracious prince has written to the Landgrave William, and mentioned among other things how it was with the cardinal's hasty journey. When he received the king's order, he growled like a bear, shut himself up in one room for a time, and then did his best to get off as quickly as possible; he has given out that he is going on the king's business, and will be back in two months, but many people think it will be two long months, and like the Jew's interest will run out, and renew itself of its own accord. The regent invited the nobles to council immediately after the cardinal's departure, and they all accepted the invitation, but on condition that, if Granvelle should return, they would again withdraw. Every one is astonished at this sudden move, and some think it is only a blind; otherwise everything is, after the fashion of the land, very quiet, all things are on a peaceable footing and every one fully satisfied that the cardinal is out from their feet." *

The cardinal gone, the nobles devoted themselves to state affairs. The following three months were

* The writer of this letter was a trusted follower of the Nassau family. Henry, the youngest of the five brothers, was placed at this University of Louvain early in 1564, where his young nephew, the Count of Buren was already. There was considerable anxiety in the home circle, as to the effect this might have on the fourteen-year-old, Protestant-nurtured lad; and Louis writes to Lorich, to learn whether Henry cannot be excused from assisting at mass. In the first part of the above-quoted letter, Lorich explains that attendance at mass is absolutely necessary. Henry would not be safe at Louvain otherwise. Among the prince's letters (Groen, i., 224) during the year, is a boyish Latin epistle from Henry, to show his eldest brother what progress he is making.—Groen, *Archives*, i., 228.

probably the most hopeful in the prince's loyal career. He saw himself, ably supported by Egmont and Horn, gradually becoming possessed of Philip's confidence, and enabled to remedy the abuses loudly complained of on every side, and which were attributed to Granvelle's influence.*

There were in especial three points he wished to attain.†

1. The reunion of the states-general.

2. The augmentation of the power of the council of state.

3. The moderation of the placards against nonconformity.

There seemed some prospect of his being able to effect his desires as several warm letters passed between Philip and the Netherland nobles, the former expressing the greatest confidence in the latter, so that the air seemed full of promise of better things for the Netherlands.

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 222, 223.

† Wagenaar, xxii., 100.

# CHAPTER X.

## WANING LOYALTY.

### 1564–1566.

THE general outlook was good, inasmuch as the nobles apparently had the government in their hands, and home rule seemed an accomplished fact. The difficulty of making the provinces fulfil their promises of money supplies remained, however, as the correspondence between Orange and the regent shows.*

Meanwhile the prince's own affairs were involved. How difficult he found it to clear his estate from debt is shown by the following letter † to Louis:

"As to news, all our affairs here are about the same as when you departed. I cannot really live as befits my position, and can well say, *Sic ut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum.*‡ It seems to be

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 60, 84, *et al.*

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 196.

‡ "As it was in the beginning, is now, and will be in the ages to come." The following passage gives some idea of Orange's extravagance in his Brussels palace at the same time he was keeping open house at Breda.

"So costly was the prince's housekeeping that the ordinary service

one of our family characteristics that we are bad managers in our youth, but when we get on in years we improve, like our late father. My greatest difficulty is with the falconers; though I have cut down their expenses until they only cost me 1200 florins. It seems as though I would be quite out of debt if this point were gained. But I hope only 1500 florins a year will remain so that we will be soon free from encumbrance. But more of this when you come.

"As to French news, the Admiral* and Monsieur d'Andelot govern everything, after the Constable and the Prince of Condé.

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was done by 24 nobles, while not less than 18 pages were at his heels. Some idea may be formed of his kitchen by the fact that one day 28 cooks were discharged as a preliminary measure of economy. I could scarcely believe this," continues Van der Haer, "but an honourable man, Coels from Brussels, who had been the prince's steward, assured me that the reputation of his cuisine was so high that nearly all the German princes sent their cooks to his house to be perfected in their art. In all the corners of the palace, from early morning till noon, lunch tables stood ready, laden with choice wine and edibles. For dinner and supper the courses were numerous, delicate, and elaborate, but all was surpassed by the generosity of the host himself, so that many say that the prince's table had much to do with the overthrow of the king's power in the Netherlands."—Van der Haer, quoted by Bakhnizen, Het Huwelijk, etc., p. 98.

The reputation of his cooks is also attested by the following note from Philip.

"My cousin, as my head cook is dead, I am desirous of having another who is good and reliable. I have heard that you have one named Master Herman who acts as your head cook, and who is said to be good, and I do not doubt that he is reliable since he is yours. You will do me the favour of sending him here as soon as possible. He shall be treated so that he shall be satisfied.

"From Madrid, April 3, 1864, before Easter."

* "*L'Amiral et M. d'Andelot gouvernent le tout, après le Connétable et le Prince de Condé.*"

"There is a slight unpleasantness between the English and us, God pardon those who are in fault. As to Orange, new embassies come to me continually, and I am unable to remedy affairs, because there is so much internal dissension, and it is hard to find means of reconciling the parties. Complaints come too from the King of France and the pope about the people. I leave you to guess how I am . . . .*

"I wish you were here to console me a little, but the best thing is that I keep a jolly company, who give me some distraction, as do tennis, or falconry, and there [falconing] I am going this instant as it is the finest weather in the world, and hope to have some sport.

"From Breda, Jan. 15, 1564.

"Your good brother to do you service,

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU."

The embassies mentioned in the above letter were from the poor Protestants of Orange, who found no peace in their religion. Like the Netherlanders, they too were longing for their distant sovereign to take some interest in their home affairs. Though in their opinion the new cult had no chance to grow, there was some one else who entertained quite a different idea on the subject, and that was the pope, who wrote † to the prince in December, 1563, complaining piteously of the sad state of religion in the little realm.

The sum of his plaint was "Heretics, heretics everywhere!"

"Alas, beloved son, how hateful are these things

* Blank in original.

† Groen, *Archives*, i., 189.

to God, how calamitous to the state, how grievous to all Catholics, how they sully thy good name! Alas! what wrath of God they will excite against thee, unless thou hastenest to correct them!" The letter concluded with something like a threat, that, if the prince continued to neglect his plain duty, more rigorous measures than paternal warnings would be resorted to. "If our forces and those of the Holy Roman Church are not sufficient, we shall descend to human aid."

The Protestants also tried human aid, writing to Calvin* to beg him to intercede with their sovereign in behalf of religion. Thus with Calvin and the Hessian Philip on one side, the pope and the Spanish Philip on the other, the prince's lot was not an easy one. He replied to Pius IV., that, owing to the situation of his principality, he was obliged to conform in it to French edicts,† which happened then to be lenient to the Protestants, except in Paris.

After Granvelle's departure to Besançon, when new plaints came from Orange, the prince turned for advice to William of Hesse,‡ and ceased to express such fervent interest in "our true and ancient religion."

The cardinal was gone,§ but he continued to

* Letter in Geneva Archives.

† Martin, x., 168, *Histoire de France*, par Henri Martin, Paris. Furue et Cie., 1844.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, i., 235.

§ *Ibid.*, 235. Granvelle occupied his leisure, like many another retired statesman, in writing lengthy epistles to explain himself. More than any living person, had he defended the liberties of the

watch Netherland affairs closely, and received daily letters relating to the progress of events in Brussels. Besides the correspondence he maintained with his friends, such as Viglius, he paid other people to write to him, to keep him informed of Brussels gossip. In a letter * from a certain P. Bordey occurs the following passage:

"On Monday, her Highness went to mass at Sainte Gudule's, accompanied by all the nobles and M. de Meghen, although they were all drunk.

"The prince dined alone with her Highness, and at this dinner I heard [P. Bordey † might then have been a servant in waiting] the prince say of the princess, in answer to the inquiries of her Highness, that she ate very little and led a life that would be the death of him, adding: 'Sometimes she is fifteen days without leaving her room or seeing any company, a most melancholy existence.'"

This is one of the first mentions of Anne's eccentricity. Her happiness had been of very brief duration. She was full of jealous suspicions that the great elector's daughter was not treated with suffi-

Netherlands. It had saddened him infinitely to see the growing ambition of the nobles, who so evidently wished to usurp their master's authority. He could do no more, come what might. "I preferred that my prince should tyrannise over me a little, than that, his authority lost, many should tyrannise over us and the Low Countries, which would soon lose privileges and liberty that I would die to maintain." If Philip wished, he would be willing to forget the past and go back.

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 256. P. Bordey to Granvelle, May 20, 1564.

† This same man writes June 21st, that the prince and princess have gone to Breda. "They say he expects his mother with all her unmarried daughters."—*Verband der Edelen*, iv., p. 322.

cient consideration. She and the Countess Egmont would squeeze through a narrow door-way together, both refusing to yield precedence.

In December,* 1564, Anne gave birth to a son, who was christened Maurice, after her father, but this baby too, was sickly, and the frail little life ended in the following March.†

After the cardinal had left Brussels, nobles and people alike hoped that affairs would go on smoothly. For a time the regent seemed to trust her Flemish advisers unreservedly, and, as mentioned in the last chapter, the prince was very hopeful of reforming abuses by legal means. Margaret was extremely

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 341.

† Strada, i., 79. The regent wrote to the king that this child was baptised according to orthodox rites, but she was grieved that the orthodoxy was somewhat tainted by the fact that the sponsors were Lutheran princes—Augustus of Saxony and Philip of Hesse.

Among the gratulatory letters on this event was one from Henry Brederode (Groen, *Archives*, i., 340), from which I give the following extract in the original.

"Je suys estés, monsieur, fort ayse d'antandre du beau petyt fils, que il a pleu à Dyeu vous anvoyer, comme sy la mesme heure me fust avenus, pour le plésyr que sey que an orés repceu, pryant à Dyeu luy donner et octroyer la grace de vyvre sy lontamps, que je luy puisse montrer la mesme affectyon de luy servyr comme j'ay au père et orey tant que la vye me baterat au corps."

After expressing a hope that better news will come from Spain, Brederode adds: "Mes je creyns que ce ne serat la vyelle chansson, toutefoys ce seroit ung gran byen que la notte changeat ung fois et que, au lyeu qu'elle ast esté jusque stheure an *b dur* que elle retournasse an *b moll*."

Archives Nationales, Paris, *Lettres du Prince d' Orange*. Orange wrote to Philip's ambassador at Paris to announce the birth of this son, who is to swell the number of his Majesty's faithful subjects ("yra augmentando el [numero] de sus servidores").

friendly towards him, asked his company on her hunting expeditions and to dinner, while, on his side, he attended every council meeting and worked from morning till late at night.* Nevertheless he felt that Viglius and Berlaymont exercised a hostile influence† against him, and until their power was annihilated, there was no certainty that his advice was not undermined.

In August there came definite orders from Philip which showed that this appearance of calm was deceptive, and that there was trouble ahead of a more serious nature than that caused by the cardinal.

In 1545, an ecclesiastical council had assembled at Trent, to consider the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, assailed as they had been by the Reformation. Not until December, 1563, did the council, which had been interrupted many times, conclude its deliberations and publish the results. It fixed the orthodox tenets irrevocably, established the doctrines of the communion and other sacraments etc., and reaffirmed the absolute authority of the Church, and ended with "anathema to all heretics, anathema, anathema."

The council had been formally pronounced infal-

* Morillon wrote to Granvelle that the prince was looking worn, that it was reported he did not sleep.—*Papiers d' État*, vii., 434.

† One of Margaret's secretaries, named Armenteros, gained an ascendancy over her at this time which was most inimical to the Flemish nobles. This man was so covetous that he was nicknamed Argenteros, and he did not scruple to turn to his own account the favour shown him by the regent. He wormed himself into Margaret's confidence and obtained state secrets of which the nobles were ignorant.

lible, hence there was no room for criticism unless the critics were beyond the pale of the Church. And that the Spanish king resolved that henceforth no subject of his should be. In August, he wrote to the regent directing her to promulgate the edicts of the Council of Trent throughout the provinces, and to see that the inquisitors were properly supported by all other civil officers, in enforcing absolute obedience to these edicts and in restraining personal judgment in all matters appertaining to religion.

Orders of conformity to the established church were not new in the Netherlands.* As early as the year 1525, the emperor had appointed inquisitors whose duty it was to check the growth of Protestant ideas. Placards to the same effect were renewed from time to time during Charles's reign, and in 1555, Philip had confirmed all existing laws on the subject.

Simultaneously with the establishment of new bishoprics, inquisitors had been appointed in the various provinces.

One of the most indefatigable among them was a certain Peter Titelmann, who fulfilled the duties of his office with apparent delight in every horrible detail. In a personal history of William of Orange it is not necessary to describe the manner in which this functionary hunted down his victims† and brought them to prison or to the flames.

From the beginning of the promulgation of the placards against non-conformity, there had been

**History of the Reformation in Holland*, by Gerard Brandt, 1671.

† See Motley, i., 320 *et seq*, where details are given from Brandt.

loud protests that the ancient privileges of the land were thereby infringed. It is evident that the laws were not enforced according to their letter, as dissenters multiplied on all sides.

In 1564, there was no longer the slightest doubt as to how much modification the Catholic Church was to undergo from the Reformation. Every doctrine was clearly defined by the Council of Trent, and now Philip intended that there should be no further laxity in the adoption of those doctrines.

The regent wrote to her brother that the reformers had grown strong and she feared the new religion could not be checked, no matter how strenuous were the efforts of the inquisitors, and begged him to come to the Netherlands and see for himself.

The nobles wrote to him that his proposed measures were inexpedient and begged him to come himself, if he insisted on enforcing laws that they could not carry out with the best of efforts.

Philip had replied to these repeated remonstrances with vague promise that either he or Don Carlos would "set all right by their presence," but by the beginning of 1565, it became evident that there was certainly no immediate prospect of such event, and the nobles concluded to accept the suggestion of the dilatory monarch that one of their number should go to him and explain their difficulties.

Early in January, Count Egmont set out on his mission. He was escorted as far as Cambray by a number of the nobles, who caroused gaily together, while he was awaiting his safe-conduct from the king of France. At one of these suppers they

signed a document with their own blood, in which they pledged themselves to avenge Egmont, should any ill come to him on this journey.*

When his papers arrived, the count set off on his way, stopping a few days at Paris, where he had interviews with Montmorency and Coligny, and arrived at Madrid, February 3d. Philip received him with the utmost graciousness, granted him frequent audiences, in which he confined himself to unmeaning general promises, that every one should be made happy, and presented him with a *merced* of 12,000 ducats. It was only when the count came to say farewell, that Philip mentioned incidentally, that in Italy, and elsewhere, there was much talk about the confederacies and liveries of the Flemish nobles.

Egmont replied that the nobles had indeed formed a league against Granvelle, but when he departed the league was at an end, and that the livery was an insignificant affair anyway. He left Spain shortly afterwards, under the impression he had explained everything. In April, he arrived at Brussels, reporting that his mission had been accomplished in a perfectly satisfactory manner, and it only dawned on him gradually that he had obtained neither the withdrawal of the placards nor any modification in the government.

Meanwhile the relations between Philip and the prince apparently were as smooth as possible. The former wrote several pleasant little notes, once adding a postscript in his own hand, thanking Orange for the

* Pontus Payen, ii., 73 *et seq.*

zeal he had shown in his service, and for the cause of religion as reported by the duchess. The administration of his own governments * was no simple matter for the prince.

In December, 1564, the deputies of the various provinces had been convoked at Brussels † and had renewed the triennial grant made in 1560, for the support of the garrison. But here again, as repeatedly happened in Netherland history, there was great difficulty in enforcing promises made by representatives, and the prince was called on to persuade his governments to furnish the stipulated sums. It was an ungrateful task. The people were poor ‡ and weighted down with their own burdens and had no love for the garrison who, they claimed, did not protect their fishery and commerce as had been promised.

The unhappiness in the prince's home, hinted at before, was becoming of greater moment. The following letter, § gives some idea of his relations with the wife whose wooing had made so much noise in the world.

"My Brother: As I was prevented from speaking

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 81. In January, there is a letter from the regent to Orange in regard to a provostship of Saint Sauveur, left vacant by the death of the Bishop of Liege, which the prince wanted for his young brother Henry.

† This was not, however, an assembly of the states-general. See Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 100 *et seq.*

‡ There was also great hardship in Holland at this time because the King of Denmark had laid an embargo on wheat passing through the Sound.

§ Groen, *Archives*, Orange to Louis of Nassau, June 22d, i., 386.

to the Duke of Saxony's gentleman, both this morning and after dinner, I think it would be well for you to see him and say, that although my wife has promised him to behave better she has done just the same before. Nevertheless, so that all I have said to him, and to you too, may not seem like fabrications, I should like him to ask the testimony of the steward van der Eike and of the other servants, especially of her maid, the little German girl. After hearing all sides perhaps the duke will be able to make some suggestion.

"For what my wife said to him she has said to me, and to many others, a hundred times, so that I fear it will be the same old story over again as soon as the messenger is gone. . . ."

A few days later Orange wrote to Louis,* who had gone to Spa for his health, that de Berghes was also there, and it might be an excellent opportunity for "talking over a little the affairs we were speaking of." Spa, like many watering-places, was often used as a meeting-ground for other purposes than taking the waters.† But on this occasion Louis evidently had been ill, as Orange begs him to let him know the effect of the waters, while Brederode wrote a characteristic note, spelled according to his own sweet will, to warn him of the dangers of the fountain.

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 259 (1st ed.).

† In 1564 Granvelle, who loved to excite Philip's suspicions, mentioned that Egmont was at Spa. "As he is said to be perfectly well, he probably has *altras cosas* on hand." Anne of Saxony also went to Spa about this time, and Lettenhove imputes her journey to politics, but the many letters about her prove that she had no part in public affairs.

"I would have more hope in good wine helping you,* than the springs; at least I believe, that if I had given up wine, in my last illness here among these abominable dykes, I would have quitted my bones too, for I tell you I never was so near it. I rather think I was not good enough to die and the good Lord would not have known what to do with me, which is why I do not worry about you. Only do take care not to drink too much water, for that is the way people drown."

Louis found the desired opportunity of talking matters over with de Berghes and other gentlemen who happened to be at Spa. Evidently he wrote suggestions of action to his brother, to which the ever prudent senior responded.†

"As to *writing* to George von Holl, I would not do it. The fewer letters to strangers on such topics always seem to me the better. Even if people are friends now, after their death letters may easily fall into the hands of those who will make capital from them."

Though Orange certainly had plans for possible resistance to Philip, as the conference at Spa, and Louis's mission to the German princes proved, there is also no doubt that the idea of a complete break from him was still unformed.

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 397, Brederode to Louis. Brederode was the lineal descendant of the Counts of Holland. He was a rollicking, hard-drinking, jovial, undisciplined man—a boon-companion, but quite unfitted for any well-sustained effort. He had not only little Latin, and less Greek, but his ingenuity in misspelling French was something remarkable. Yet withal, his birth and geniality gave him a certain power in the land. The two things he hated most heartily were—a Spaniard, and cold water.

† *Ibid.*, i., 264 (1st ed.).

In June, the prince placed his daughter Mary, Anne of Egmont's child, under the protection of the Duchess of Parma, as maid of honour. Later in the summer, in a discussion as to the future of Count Henry, his youngest brother, his propositions show plainly that he still was willing to accept benefits from the Catholic Church, and still hoped for protection at court.

"I am vexed* about Henry, and am not at all satisfied with the plan made by my mother and brother; to send him to France is not at all suitable, not on account of the 'Huguenotterie,' but for other reasons. Nor am I better pleased at the idea of his going direct from Germany to Italy with a German gentleman who has been with the Count Palatine and his son. You can rest assured that, by these means, we will lose every chance of obtaining advantageous offices or dignities for him. There is, already, talk about it, and those who were willing to help him draw back, suspicious that we are going to let him be educated in other religion [*aultre religion*]. I enclose an extract from a letter from the Bishop of Utrecht, showing how this rumour has spread. Therefore I advise that he shall be sent here for four or five months and go on to Italy from here with some proper gentleman. By that time, too, everything will be clearer.

"There is another opening too, and it seems to me if God wishes to help us we ought to be willing to help ourselves. Count William of Schauenburg came to me with Count van den Berg and said that from the love he bore our house, and especially me, he would be glad to make my brother Henry his coadjutor in his provost-

* Orange to Louis, August 13th. Groen, *Archives*, i., 398. Henry had left Louvain and returned to Dillenburg.

ship of Hildesheim. This is something that a count can accept honestly and without obligation, reserving the right to do as he chooses regarding religion, provided that he be a little careful, and that the subjects are not constrained in any way. He also hopes that the brother of Count Königstein, Count Christopher, who has the provostship of Halberstadt, will also make my brother coadjutor. This provostship will yield sufficient to maintain twenty horse with their people and equipment, and the places [provostships] are only five leagues apart. Since such baits are offered to us it seems to me that we ought not to sleep but to pursue the matter. It will be necessary to have the pope's consent and that can only be asked if my brother be here, otherwise it is labour lost. I only say for five or six months, so that you can lend a hand to having him come for that time. Tell everything to my brother, so that he may speak to my mother about the provostship which her brother has, and she may persuade him to make Henry his coadjutor. She must approve, for she knows that her brother has found it possible to live as he wished. . . .

"I send you a letter from the Governor of Orange which I opened thinking it might contain more details than mine, but you will see it is all one, etc. I will tell you everything when you come, which I beg you to do as speedily as your health will permit."

Much as they trusted the eldest son and brother, Countess Juliana and Count John could not agree with him on this subject of religion. They did not absolutely refuse to follow his counsel, but delays ensued, and in the following summer John wrote to Louis that he was still unwilling to let Henry go to Brussels. He feared the Greeks and the gifts they

bring, and could not feel at ease in placing a youth under Catholic influence. The matter finally settled itself as the growing troubles in the Netherlands made the step no longer expedient.

In the next letter to his brother, still urging Henry's visit, Orange expresses the greatest longing for Louis's society, as he is *alone* and lonely. "Come if it can be only for a fortnight." He needs his brother both for things of moment, and of amusement,—*veras et brulas.* Though he reluctantly acknowledged that it was necessary for Louis to go to Dillenburg, he hopes he will get back in time for the Montigny wedding as he would like to have him take part in the tournament. Louis's business in Germany was to communicate with the princes, and he was detained longer than he had expected. In November, his brother wrote again.* He tells the Spanish news, mentioning among various items that the prince of Spain had eaten sixteen pounds of fruit, besides four pounds of grapes, and drank ice water twice directly after. "Thereupon he fell in a faint, and was ill," a result hardly to be wondered at.

Such is the main outline of the events of the prince's life as suggested or related in his correspondence. But much more was happening in the land than could be guessed from his epistles.

The regent remained in a state of great perplexity throughout the autumn.† Philip let four

* Groen, *Archives*, i., 429. There are two letters of the same date, Nov. 2d, one written by a secretary and the other autograph in German.

† Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, i., 373, 375.

months pass without answering her protests, without indeed writing to her at all, and she was uncertain as to what his next course would be. The nobles daily besieged her with questions about the placards which were nominally in vogue everywhere, though with but few exceptions the magistrates avoided enforcing them. In November, a courier arrived from Spain with orders that put an end to her uncertainty, but which did not relieve her trouble.*

Philip's orders were unequivocal, but it looked very doubtful, as to whether it would be in his sister's power to fulfil them. No attention was to be paid to popular remonstrance. The placards regarding the edicts of Trent and the exercise of the reformed religion were to be carried out without reservation. Margaret said nothing about this despatch for several days, but her extreme depression could not be concealed, and it was not difficult to guess its cause. A special council meeting was called for December, and Philip's despatches were read. The consternation was general. For the first time Egmont realised that all the fair words said to him by Philip were worthless. After a few minutes of silence the discussion began. Viglius thought the

* The difficulties of her position were greatly increased by the presence of her son, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, who accompanied Egmont from Spain, where he had been educated with Don Carlos and Don John. He assumed all the haughtiness of his race and treated the Flemish nobles in a contemptuous manner. His bride, Donna Maria of Portugal, had been sent by sea to meet him in the Netherlands, and their nuptials were celebrated at Brussels with a magnificence that gave little pleasure to the Netherlanders on whom the expense fell.

matter should again be referred to Philip, and the distant monarch be assured that the measures would not be suffered by the populace,—"that beast called the people." Orange then opened his mouth, and spoke with assurance.* The king's commands were plain. There was no need to refer again to him. It was better to enforce his orders at once, and send the edicts to every market-place in the land.

This action on the prince's part has been harshly criticised even by a non-partisan historian like Davies; still more, the fact that he turned, as it was reported, to his next neighbour and whispered that a fine tragedy was now to be enacted.†

The only authority for this is a quotation Wagenaar gives from a life of Viglius,‡ but the story seems to me perfectly credible. The prince had honestly tried to show Philip that persecution was unwise. He had not taken the ground that it was unfair or unjust, but that, from the point of view of a statesman who had studied history and knew the results of endeavours to suppress new thought, it was inexpedient and futile. His argument was this: If Philip did not propose any radical measures of reform, he was heartily glad that the monarch's orders were so explicit. It was better now that events should take their course. A *reductio ad absurdum* is often a relief to a strained situation, for an issue is forced.

* Hoofd, ii., 64. Wagenaar, xxii., 119.

† Wagenaar, xxii., 120. See also *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, Lettenhove, i., 279.

‡ "Hac conclusione accepta, princeps Auriacensis cuidam in aurem dixit qui post id retulit, quasi lætus gloriabundusque: visuros nos brevi egregiæ tragediæ initium."—*Vita Viglius*, p. 45.

Hence Orange had no hesitation in advising Margaret to promulgate the new orders at once, to enforce the edicts of Trent, let the law of the inquisition take its course, and then let come what might. The meeting at Spa, and the many letters and missives which the prince sent to Germany, show that this news from Spain was not wholly unexpected to him. The wedding festivities of Baron Montigny, who was married to the Princess d'Epinoy, at the Chateau d'Antoing, gave the nobles an opportunity for an open assembly. Here, as they drank to the bride's health, they discussed the political situation, and it is possible that in the midst of their revels, the first idea of a formal coalition against their monarch was promulgated. Philip had shown his hand openly, and now they turned to each other to see what was their duty. It must be remembered that these nobles were almost exclusively true to the ancient religion, and it was the infringement of the provincial charters to which they objected. Meanwhile indignant protests against the execution of the prescribed measures had poured into Brussels from every quarter, and the nobles realised, if the regent did not, that the matter was serious. What "several gentlemen" had considered at Spa as a bare possibility, was talked into a more definite shape at the Chateau d'Antoing. Later, in Brussels, a young Genevan-bred minister, one Francis Junius, preached several stirring sermons which had a great effect in rousing the Protestant nobles to sympathy with their more humble fellow-dissenters. Towards the end of the year a document called the Compromise, protesting

against the placards,* was drawn up, probably by St. Aldegonde,† and circulated for signatures. This paper ‡ was (1) a protest against all inquisitorial measures which, in a land accustomed to liberty, could only result in a "horrible confusion"; (2) a promise of mutual aid in resisting the above measures.

This was legal, but other less legitimate protests were also made. In Antwerp, in the night between Dec. 22d and 23d, a paper was pasted on the public walls in three or four places, declaring that the inquisition was an illegal encroachment on the liberties of Brabant. This was suspected to be the work of Louis of Nassau. The following letter from the prince explains itself §:

"January 12th.

"My Brother: I am waiting impatiently for news of you, and would give a thousand crowns if you were here. . . . You are accused of writing a broadside which was found in Antwerp, and of several things besides that I have not time to write about. . . . When I get to Breda I will write in greater detail, only I beg you do not do things like this. . . ."

* As Mr. Motley points out, this paper was not signed at a definite date like the Declaration of Independence. The original draft has only three signatures: Charles Mansfeld, Henry Brederode, and Louis of Nassau. Several copies were in circulation simultaneously, and in less than two months there were two thousand signatures. —i., 494.

† Philip Marnix, Baron of St. Aldegonde, was born at Brussels in 1538, and was thus of the same age as Louis of Nassau. He was educated at Geneva and became thoroughly imbued with Calvin's doctrines. He first appears in the year 1565, became one of the prince's most devoted adherents, and did brilliant work with his pen.

‡ Given entire at the end of volume.

§ Groen, *Archives*, ii., 10.

There was great confidence between the brothers, but it is evident that the elder thought he might not be in all Louis's secrets. January 24th, the prince wrote* a long, elaborate letter to Margaret answering her official command to enforce the placards in his governments. Though he apologises for not going more into detail, as he wishes to avoid prolixity, the letter is somewhat too verbose to be transcribed. He first says that, though his advice was not asked in an affair of such consequence, he cannot abstain from offering his opinion as a loyal servitor of his Majesty, lest he should connive at bringing ruin on the land. He continues:

". . . As to the reformation of the priests, and other ecclesiastical ordinances, they do not pertain to my vocation. I therefore remit them to the proper authorities and will satisfy his Majesty's commands when necessary.

"As to the second point, viz: that governors and other civil officers . . . must aid inquisitors . . . in the authority that belongs to them by 'human and divine law and which they have hitherto enjoyed,' your Highness must remember that the opposition excited by the establishment of the new bishoprics was wholly caused by the fear lest under this guise some form of the inquisition might be introduced; moreover your Highness must remember that his imperial Majesty and Queen Mary repeatedly assured the inhabitants of the Netherlands, by word of mouth and in proclamations, that the said inquisition should never be introduced, and that these provinces should be maintained as of old. . . . It is this assurance of tranquillity that has enabled commerce to prosper.

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 16.

"As to the third point by which his Majesty orders . . . all the placards issued by the emperor and the king to be literally carried out in all rigour; Madame, this seems to me very hard, as the placards are numerous and diverse, and have never been enforced, even when there was not such widespread misery as at present . . . and now their execution would be unbearable, and hence inexpedient."

He goes on to say that religious freedom in neighbouring lands would make oppression seem very unjust, and he thinks it would be the height of folly "to rouse popular passion now when the populace are in deep trouble from the present dearth of wheat," and he hopes all rigorous measures will be deferred till Philip comes "to set all right by his presence." He concludes by saying that if the king, in spite of warnings, insists on the execution of his orders, he would prefer to resign rather "than incur the blemish which would stain me and mine if misfortune came to the lands under my charge."

This letter was written after there had been the consultation at Spa, to be sure, and after the informal talk at the Montigny wedding, but it was written immediately on receipt of direct orders to do the impossible, and this remonstrance in round unvarnished terms relieves the prince of any disloyalty to his sovereign.

There is no longer any doubt as to what Philip means to do; the next question is where can the nobles turn. They already suspect Philip of preparing to enforce his measures in the Netherlands by armies, and one of the prince's greatest anxieties is

that the movements of Eric of Brunswick with his mercenaries shall be watched. In urging* Louis to persuade George von Holl and other Germans to come to the Netherlands, "which they surely will do when they know everything" he says: "The quieter the thing can be kept, the better, only be ready for emergencies."

The following passage shows that efforts are on foot to see what money can be raised if needed:

"As to our Antwerp affairs, I have spoken to those you left in charge, but find things bad enough. They only offer me 18,000 florins without interest, provided I take another 10,000 florins' worth of cloth, and that I pledge plate to the value of the whole 28,000 florins. So I fear not much is to be expected from that quarter. In five or six days I should have a definite answer."

Margaret answered† the letter of January 24th, in general terms, refusing to accept the prince's resignation, and exhorting him to be faithful to the king.

During the winter Orange remained at Breda writing many letters‡ to the Dukes of Saxony and Würtemberg to explain the situation of affairs, and asking their advice, as his one desire seemed to be to take every forward step with care. At the end of

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 22.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 112–114. The regent had another scheme on foot. She wished Egmont and Orange to take charge of a lottery to raise money to pay off the arrears of the Spanish troops. The two nobles resolutely refused, and the scheme fell through.

‡ He told Louis that he also wrote to the Duke of Saxony about his wife, but when he showed her the letter she promised to behave better.—Groen, *Archives*, ii., 27.

February a number of nobles assembled at Breda. Perhaps "assembled" is too formal a word, though that is the one used by historians. The prince kept open house wherever he was, and naturally there was so much excitement about public affairs at that epoch that it was natural for those whose interests were at stake to flock together. A certain Nicholas de Hammes,* one of the most indefatigable of the Protestant malcontents, was among those who drifted into the hospitable shelter of Breda. February 27th, this man wrote† a long detailed letter to Louis from which the following extracts are taken:

"At the last meeting there were present Seignior de Waroux, the admiral's lieutenant, Monsieur Dolhain,‡ Monsieur Louwreval, Monsieur Tholouse,§ Monsieur Leefdael, and I. Something was decided which seemed better than any other suggestion, and which was approved by Monsieur Brederode, to whom we confided the details of the plan, while we only gave a general outline to the prince. Monsieur Brederode was heartily in favour of the proposed enterprise, but the prince disapproved the outline, deeming it utterly impracticable. Moreover, he does not think the time has yet come to take arms, and without force it would be impossible to execute our project. We are longing for you beyond expression,

* Nicholas de Hammes was an illegitimate son of that house. He was nicknamed "Golden Fleece" though he was only a servant, not a member of that order. Passionately devoted to the Protestant cause, he was impatient to act at once, regardless of expediency.

† Groen, *Archives*, ii., 37.

‡ Dolhain commanded a troop of sea beggars in 1569.

§ This was John Marnix, brother of Philip. The others are unknown.

hoping that you will aid in kindling a fire in the hearts of these apathetic gentlemen. They want us to meet the obstinacy and obduracy of these infamous wolves with remonstrances and petitions, with words, in short, and nothing but words, while on their side they do not cease burning, beheading, banishing their victims, giving vent to their venom in every fashion. We have the means of curbing them, without trouble, with no bloodshed, without conflict, and these timid gentlemen simply will not act. Let it be so; let us use the pen and they the sword; we will be brave with words and they with deeds; we will weep and they will laugh. The Lord be praised for everything, but indeed I cannot write to you without tears; the poor faithful Christians are in despair at the delay of any remedy. We have endeavoured to tide them over their troubles with promises of speedy assistance, but I fear succour will be infinitely delayed by the lukewarmness of those from whose zeal we hoped the most. The four cities of Brabant [Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, and Bois-le-Duc] sent a protest to the chancellor of Brabant about this last order. It seems they accept the edicts and reject the inquisition alone, playing with the name, leaving the thing. It is rumoured that Flanders and Holland are preparing similar protests, but I do not see that all these writings can bear any fruit. . . . The sickness and corruption of our body politic is too grave to be cured by sweet drinks and syrups. It is necessary to use purgatives and cauteries.

"The states-general possess plenary power. In them lies the sole remedy for our ills. We undoubtedly have the means to convene them, but we do not seem to wish to be cured. . . . Our small pox is corruption of faith, of justice, of finance; huge debts and humiliation

oppress us. The nobles seem almost annihilated, offices and benefices are in the hands of unworthy incumbents. To cure all this by words, forsooth!

"The inquisition is published in Hainault, Flanders, Artois, Lisle, Douay, Orchies. It is intended that it shall be naturalised everywhere, and this will be accomplished if words be the only force opposed to these measures.

"I beg and implore you hasten to come to help us with your advice. I hope you will bring a certain treatise you promised me, on when it is lawful for the inferior magistrate to take arms against the tyranny of his superiors."

It is easy to picture the impatience of such people as the writer of this letter, towards the prince's extreme moderation. The hesitation and deliberation with which he took each step, applying the brake at every revolution of the wheel, were exasperating to the men of one idea.*

The party at Breda grew larger, and the discussions grew hotter, but Orange remained calm. Egmont, meanwhile, grew more and more restless and uneasy, afraid to go forward, and yet too sympathetic with his fellow-countrymen to be able to approve the action of the court, as did royalists like Aerschot and Berlaymont.

In the *Apology*,† Orange, speaking rather from the

* The situation was somewhat like that at the beginning of our civil war, when Lincoln would not march abreast with the desires of the abolitionists. Still Groen's statement (ii., 15) that the confederation was formed *without the prince's knowledge* seems to me unfounded.

† *Apology*, 90.

point of view of an aristocrat, says: "Having realised that the evil had so increased that it was no longer a question of burning only poor people, who let themselves be thrown into the fire, but that the upper classes too were alarmed." He says, further, that his official position compelled him to discourage all violent measures, but he considered it fitting that a petition should be presented. This was said, to be sure, many years later, but the letter of Nicholas de Hammes is a confirmation of the truth of the prince's own statement in regard to his position in 1566.

About March 11th, the prince and all his guests, among whom was the much-wished-for Louis, adjourned to Hoogstraaten's chateau,* where they were joined by the other prominent nobles of the land. After hot discussion it was finally decided that a petition should be presented to the regent, begging that the late obnoxious orders should be rescinded. The higher nobles present merely *assented* to the measure without really assisting it. There was no more secrecy about this assembly than about that at Breda. The nobles met as friends, and the guests took care that their host's stock of good wine should be increased by timely gifts, but they met to discuss, not to conspire. After a few days, the company returned in a body to Breda to

* In the light of subsequent events it is rather singular that the chateau of Hoogstraaten is now the town poor-house. Where the beggars of the sixteenth century drafted the famous paper that had little effect but to bestow a party name on the petitioners, beggars of the nineteenth century drone out the concluding years of their useless existence.

complete the plan of the petition. Hoogstraaten* remained behind at his own house, and missed his visitors greatly. In a note to Orange on March 15th, concerning some changes in the draft, he sends him 100,000,000 kisses for the gentlemen. A few days later he wrote to Louis thanking him for the news of the final resolution taken "by the advice of the prince, and Count Horn, who have assured me that they had nothing more at heart than the king's service, etc. I, too, am heartily in favour of a pretty remonstrance. . . ." †

Thus Orange openly countenanced the deliberations on the petition, and accepted the final form in which it was drafted. The one point he insisted on was, that there should be no appearance of an armed force in presenting the document to the duchess. If the thing were to be done, it must be done decently and in order. It was not a revolutionary measure, but a simple protest against an action of the government.

After the matter was fully arranged, there was still plenty of business for those who had the undertaking at heart, and they went to work with the enthu-

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 46.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 54.

He adds: "Je vous bayse les mains de ce que m'advertisses de ce que Madame at escript à M. le prince et de sa [reponsses] à laquelle trouverat asses à morder, sy elle at des bons dens."

Some of the notes that passed between the nobles at this time are curious as showing the prevalence of betting. The debts were allowed to run on and be occasionally balanced, unless the creditor chanced to be hard up—Hoogstraaten once asked Louis to pay his saddler from his gaming dues.

siasm and system of a modern caucus. The confederates—the name, however, was not applied before April—divided the provinces among them, and made almost a house-to-house canvass to obtain signatures to the petition. Louis undertook* to be responsible for Zealand and Friesland and "the city," while Brederode assumed charge of Holland. The Protestant ministers of Antwerp were pressed into service, and asked to disseminate pamphlets and broadsides rousing the faithful to action.

It was further arranged that the gentlemen should meet at Brussels, April 3d, "with as many horse as possible, but in ordinary garments, without warlike accoutrements." How they accomplished their business will be told in the next chapter.

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 56.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE PETITION AND ITS RESULTS.

1566.

WHILE these preparations were going on apace, the regent began to grow very uneasy at the temper of the people. In March, she wrote * letter after letter to Orange, urging his immediate presence in the capital, as she had summoned the provincial governors and the Knights of the Fleece to consider the situation, and needed his assistance. His replies are nonchalant. His own affairs are important, his wife is ill, it is not easy for him to leave Breda, etc., etc. He found time, however, to write a voluminous epistle to one of the German princes, † suggesting that Philip's martial preparations might not be all intended for the Turks. It would certainly be wise for the Protestant princes to be on their guard, etc.

March 27th, Orange went to Brussels, and two days later was present at a meeting of the council, ‡

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 128 *et seq.* Wagenaar, xxii., 130 *et seq.* Hoofd, ii., 55 *et seq.* Strada, v., 98 *et seq.*

† Groen, *Archives*, ii., 65.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 365.

in which the regent asked the opinion of each member in turn, as to the inquisition. * All agree, Catholics though they are, that the placards must be moderated, and that the inquisition is odious, and little profitable to religion.

When the prince's turn came, he said that in all mundane affairs order should be preserved, in religious observances more than in anything else, so that safety of souls might be ensured. The intentions of the king and emperor were good, but they had not foreseen the result. Religion was going to destruction. "To see a man burn for his opinions, does harm to the people; the judges will not execute the placards, and the rigorous decrees do nothing to maintain religion." He advises the council to draw up a draft of moderation. Above all, the inquisition should certainly not be introduced in new places.† Let her Highness act as mediator between the king and the inquisitors.

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* Minutes of the meeting preserved in the Brussels Archives. Wagenaar, xxii., 138. Hoofd, ii., 69.

† "Quant à l'inquisition là ou elle n'est, ne la introduire et ailleurs, dire que Son Altèze en fera les offices devers le Roy, serrant cependant la mains aux inquisiteurs, protestant de conserver la foi catholicque." *Notules* du conseil d'état, rédigées par le secretaire Berty. Le xxix. Mars, 1565 (N. S. 1566), devant midi. Present—Madame, Orange, Aerschot, Egmont, Mansfeld, Berghes, Aremberg, Berlaymont, Meghen, Hachicourt, Montigny, Hoogstraaten, President, Bruxelles.

Lettenhove (i., 300) quotes this sentence in a way to make it appear very specious. He takes *Son Altèze* as referring to the prince, but all through the minutes that is the title given exclusively to the regent. This is noteworthy, as it is the most glaring instance of Lettenhove's misrepresentation. "Il [le prince] accourt aussitôt à Bruxelles, et avec la duplicité qui forme la principale règle de sa conduite politique,

The regent was greatly agitated during the meeting. When the question of the petition was mooted her tribulation increased. What would her brother say if she consented to receive, and thus countenance, a protest against his will, and what would the people do if she refused? The king was in a distant land, and the people were at her door. She therefore decided to avoid the nearest danger, and trust to explaining her reasons to Philip.

In the discussion the prince ranges himself with the government.* In writing to Louis,† April 1st, asking him not to allow too many confederates to assemble, and stipulating in behalf of the duchess,‡ that they should come unarmed, he identifies himself with the regent, and not with the petitioners.

April 5th was the day appointed for the presentation of the petition, and on the third, a cavalcade, numbering two hundred in all, entered Brussels. Louis of Nassau and Henry Brederode dismounted at the prince's house, while the rest of the gentlemen

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il y reprend sa place pour insister sur l'abrogation de l'inquisition, mais pour protester en même temps de son dévouement à la foi catholique, declarant qu'il n'avait aucun grief contre les inquisiteurs auxquels il serrait la main."

* Hoofd (ii.,69) gives a very graphic picture of this council meeting. The prince's opinion on the inquisition was, "Let it rest, and it will rust." "*Rust ze, zoo roest ze.*" He has translated the speech from Nicholaus Burgundius. Wagenaar (xxii., 139) says that the wide historical knowledge evinced by Orange in this speech is due to his intercourse with Franciscus Baldinus.

† Groen, *Archives*, ii., 74.

‡ The duchess really wanted to flee precipitately to another city, and was only restrained from this ignominious flight by the persuasions of the nobles.

found lodgings in different quarters of the town. On the following day Counts Culemburg and de Berges arrived, with about one hundred followers. It was at the Culemburg mansion that the whole troop assembled on April 5th. This house * was situated just off the square of the Petit Sablon, now ornamented with the statues of the chief petitioners. The site is now occupied by a municipal prison. As Pontus Payen puts it :

"It was a fine sight to see this band of gentlemen, most of them beardless, but as cultivated and accomplished as any to be found in Europe. Many, besides being skilled in the use of arms, were well versed in literature, though completely ignorant in matters of state, owing to their extreme youth. The most prominent were Floris de Pallant, Count Culemburg, Count Louis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange, George de Ligne, and other well-known gentlemen.

"Their intentions, as I have said, tended to various ends, which was why their confederation was of short duration, for division arose, and finally their total ruin ensued. Some had entered the league from the affection they bore their country, with no thought of injuring the Catholic religion and the service of the king. Others hoped to plant the seditious doctrines of Calvin in the soil ; this class, however, were not very numerous. But the majority simply wished to disturb the existing state of affairs, and, as the proverb says, 'to fish in troubled

* Mr. Motley (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i., 479) says "a straight handsome street" led from this house to the ducal palace,—adjectives that seem to me rather flattering to the narrow, quiet little rue des Petits Carmes of to-day.

† Pontus Payen, i., p. 134.

waters,' so as to fill their yawning purses at the expense of the republic and of the ecclesiastics. Moreover, they mortally hated the gentlemen of the privy council, and all the councils, and the better servants of the king, whom they called cardinalists, who were perfectly acquainted with their temper. Besides these three kinds of people, there were certain plebeians who signed the Compromise, so as to leave their successors some mark of nobility. These were afterwards rigorously prosecuted by the Duke of Alva, as well as the most guilty, and thus they were well repaid for their vain-glory."

The petitioners proceeded on foot, about three hundred strong, to the royal palace.* It was high noon, as they left the Culemburg house, probably immediately after dinner, which then took place at about eleven o'clock.

"The gentlemen marched first, and the nobles last, so that at the head was a cripple from Artois, named Philip, lord of Bailleul and Cornaille, as if he were leader of the company, while Brederode brought up the rear; this order was remarked as an evil omen." †

Orange, Egmont, and Horn, and the other councillors were already at the palace to support Margaret, who was in such trepidation that she could scarcely control herself. She had tried ‡ to fortify

* This was burned down in the last century. The site was near the present Place Royale, facing the park.

† The whole story of the petition and supper is given by Renon de France, i., 84, and by Strada, Eng. version, v., 103 *et seq.*, without important differences in fact. See also Hoofd, ii., 71 *et seq.*; Wagenaar, xxii., 142.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, ii., 78.

PRESENTATION OF THE PETITION (1566).

her spirits by putting on gala array, and sitting in high state in the council chamber, which could only be reached by passing through the great hall where her father had resigned his dominions. At her frightened bidding the petitioners were admitted.

Brederode stepped forward and made a speech, and then at her permission he read the petition.*

Margaret grew more and more troubled as the paper was read. "She remained for some time without saying a word, unable to restrain the tears which were to be seen running down her cheeks, sure witness of the sadness her spirit was enduring."† As soon as she could recover her self-possession, she said briefly that the petitioners should have their answer after she had consulted her councillors.

"They then passed out in line, into the great hall, each turning and making a 'caracole,' before the said lady." As soon as the last had disappeared, the discussion began, and was hotly maintained. Orange tried to calm the excited regent, by assuring her, that these were no wild conspirators, but dignified, earnest, well meaning, and well born gentlemen who knew the temper of the land, and whose protest deserved due and honourable consideration. Egmont shrugged his shoulders in the Italian fashion and remarked that his leg was beginning to

* Pontus Payen, i., 136, says: "It only spoke at the beginning of obedience, fidelity, and humble service, but the conclusion was stuffed with menaces, etc." The whole paper is given at the end of the volume.

† A recent writer on Holland speaks of these tears as marks of her sympathy with the petitioners. It was far otherwise. She was afraid of her brother.

trouble him again, and he would really have to go to Aix for treatment.

Berlaymont, always disagreeable, was utterly out of sympathy with the people, whom he considered as simply a mob—a beast with many heads.

It was at this moment that Berlaymont, to quote literally from Pontus Payen, * pronounced, in great anger, the memorable words destined to change the name of the gentlemen confederates:

"How, Madame! can it be that your Highness is afraid of these beggars? By the living God, if my advice were taken, their petition should have bastinados as sole commentary, and they should be made to go down the palace steps, much quicker than they came up."

Meghen expressed himself with equal vehemence. Aremberg thought† *their reverences*, the confederates, should be ordered to clear out of Brussels at once.

The council took a recess of an hour or so. The petitioners wandered in groups about Brussels, well pleased with their morning's work, as they saw they had undoubtedly made an impression on Margaret, whether they were to be wholly successful or not. As one of the groups passed by Berlaymont's house, he chanced to be standing in the window with Aremberg and said: "Look at our lovely beggars. Just see their impudence in coming under our eyes." ‡

* Pontus Payen, i., 138.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 372.

‡ This is the story as given by Pontus Payen, but Henne, (the editor) points out that Berlaymont's house was in a very retired spot, and it is unlikely the confederates passed it.—Pontus Payen, i., 204.

On the following day, Brederode, with some of the more prominent men, returned to the palace, and formally received back the petition. Margaret had written her *apostille*, or commentary, on the margin, saying that she would refer the matter to the king, but she had absolutely no power to suspend the placards. All she could do,* would be to commend gentleness and discretion to the officers. She hoped the gentlemen would conduct themselves in a loyal manner, and prove that they had no evil intentions towards the ancient religion of the land.

Two days passed, and on the 8th, Brederode again appeared at the gates with an answer to the commentary.†

It rather cheerfully set aside Margaret's reasons—regretting that she could not suspend the inquisition, but assumed that she would give orders to all those in authority, that persecution should cease until the king's will could be known. They were prepared to maintain whatever regulations Philip might establish, if the states-general approved. They promised to behave well, and requested that their petition should be officially printed by the government. Thus was the business arranged, until such time as messengers could get to Spain and return, for the regent could give no definite answer herself.

Then came the serious part of every meeting of the time, and that was a banquet. Brederode was host, though the feast was served in Culemburg's

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 84. Strada, v., 186.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 86.

house. The confederates had restrained themselves for three days. Now they felt that they had a right to give free expression to their feelings, and they did so unreservedly.

Berlaymont's contemptuous phrase had come to their ears, and was repeated, with increased merriment, from mouth to mouth, as the wine went round. To give the story in the quaint style of Pontus Payen *:

"When they were at table, the goblets came into play, and the guests merrily emptied the great beakers of gold and gilded silver, full of good wine, without forgetting to drink to the health of the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont. After the wine had heated their brains, Brederode, who was one of the cleverest, made a sign to the guests to be quiet.

"This done, he began to relate aloud the remarks that Berlaymont had made about the confederates, and the fine and reverend name of 'beggars' he had applied to them. 'So,' he continued, 'since we are beggars, there is good reason for us to carry wallets, and drink out of wooden cups,' and at the same instant one of his pages brought him a wallet, which he put on like a monk's scapulary, and then he took in both hands a great common beaker, or wooden bowl, full of wine, and having valiantly emptied it at one gulp, had it refilled, and passed it to his neighbour, crying aloud: 'To the health of the Beggars! Long live the Beggars!' His neighbour put on the wallet, and emptied the cup as Brederode had done, and as he drank all the company cried at the top of their voices, 'Long live the Beggars!'

* Pontus Payen, i., 140.

"Each of the guests did the same in turn, each taking an oath to maintain their confederation, to live and die for each other, with the most foolish and absurd ceremony I ever heard of. For the person who had the wallet, holding the wooden cup in his hand, threw some salt into the wine, repeating at the same time this doggerel couplet:

"'By the salt, by the bread, by the wallet too,
The beggars will not change, no matter what they do.'*

"Then you might have seen wooden bowls and platters trotted out on the table,† instead of gold and silver cups, and if my gentlemen pages were busy at filling them, their masters worked still more valiantly at emptying them, not forgetting to cry at every draught, 'Long live the Beggars!' There is a common proverb which says: 'There is no gehenna except in wine,' because it makes us reveal the most secret things, as some of the confederates did at this unfortunate banquet, whom I will not name, out of respect for their relatives. . . .

"At a late stage of the supper [when the supper was well advanced] the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn, who had supped with the Count of Mansfeld, dropped in, and drank once to the company,‡ who meanwhile made the words, 'Long live the king; health to the beggars,' re-echo so loud, that one could not have heard God thunder.

"What shall I say further? They felt themselves so much honoured by the name of 'beggars,' which ought to

* "Par le sel, par le pain, par la besache,
Les gueux ne changeront, quoy qu'on se fache."

† "Vous eussiez veu lors escuelles et plateaux de bois troter sur table au lieu de couppes d'or et d'argent."

‡ Groen, *Archives*, ii., 93. They remained but the length of a *Miserere*.

have made them blush with shame, that they straightway invented an additional device, 'Faithful to the king, to wearing a beggar's wallet.'

"This device was engraved on leaden and tin medals, which they wore on their necks instead of jewelled collars. On one side of these medals was the king's effigy, with these words around it, 'Faithful to the king,' and on the other side were two hands, which signified faith, above a wallet, with the rest of the device 'Even to wearing a wallet,' and they called the said medal 'The Order of the Beggars.'"

Such is the story of the origin of a term which took hold of the imagination and held its own during the ensuing years of civil war.

It sprang into existence full fledged. The use of the term *abolitionist* was really very similar, though its adoption was not spontaneous, a matter of definite date and time.*

*The following verses, published in some American newspaper in 1861, illustrate the point:

They really thought that calling names
Had strengthened their position,
When all their sneaking curs up North
Ran yelping abolition!
But soon we made the traitors know
'T was something else the matter;
The more they "Abolition" howled
The more we *did n't* scatter.

We take the name you gave us, Beau,
We mean to make it true, sir,
We 'll first abolish slavery,
And then abolish you, sir!

. . . .

In fact, I think the term "Gueux" is almost a unique case in history, of the exact moment of the birth of a party name being known.

Egmont, Horn, and Orange thought the revelry was degenerating from patriotism and public spirit. They tried to persuade the party to break up, and went off, accompanied by Hoogstraaten, whom they had come to fetch to a council meeting at the palace. Their visit somewhat quieted the convivial reformers, and the evening came to an end without further incident.

The regent fulfilled her promise to the confederates of assembling the states in each province, which she thought less objectionable than convening the states-general at Brussels;—crowds were just then her special horror, and the sight of two or three gathered together caused her imagination to run riot. She also wrote,* April 9th, to all the governors and provincial councils, directing that their officers should use moderation until the king's further will should be known.

Artois was the first to hold her assembly.† Several of her representatives were professed "Beggars," and they gladly seized the opportunity to declaim passionately against the Spaniards and the inquisition. The ecclesiastics protested vigorously against this protest, saying it was a slur on the memory of the late emperor. The argument most hotly urged

* Van Meteren, i., 330. At the same time she arranged, as she mentioned to Philip, April 12th, solemn processions to propitiate God for her leniency.

† Renon de France, i., 91.

was, that if an inch were given to the dissenters they would take an ell. Massacres, pillage, and all kinds of impiety would follow suit, and the whole Netherlands would be reduced to the condition of Geneva, Orleans, and other French cities. The ecclesiastics won the day, and it was decided that unrepentant heretics should suffer the extreme penalty of the law, while only those who were willing to recant should be treated tenderly.

During these months council meetings were held almost daily.* There were stormy discussions on the situation, but all agreed that the one sure remedy would be Philip's presence, there was only some difference of opinion as to what concessions he should make before coming, and as to whether he should bring an army.†

So sure were they that he would come, that several meetings were devoted to considering in detail what route it would be best for Philip to take on his journey. When it came to Orange's turn to express his opinion on this point, he said that he should advise the king to come by Italy, and wait there to hear from her Highness what was the exact state of affairs in "these lands," and "we can then decide what to advise his Majesty as to his route, and whether he should come with force or not." At one meeting Orange expressed himself very bitterly about

* Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 374.

† Renon de France, i., 194. Renon says that Philip tried hard to go to the Netherlands about this time, but no one seemed to understand how difficult it was for a great monarch to leave his own kingdom and how inconvenient it might be for him to come so far to settle little quarrels.

Philip's distrust of him, and it needed all Margaret's persuasion to induce him to continue in the council.

Every historian who has written on this period repeats the statement that the prince had spies, who reported daily to him all that passed in the Escurial, but it is difficult to trace this statement to its origin in contemporaneous authorities. Pontus Payen states * that one of Philip's secretaries, Van den Esse, abusing the king's trust, had the audacity to rifle his pockets while he was asleep, and straightway forward a description of their contents to the prince. There probably never was a time when the system of espionage was so freely and systematically developed.

It was finally resolved to send two of the nobles, de Berghes and Montigny, to Spain. But there was some delay in setting off, owing to an accident to de Berghes's leg, and a courier was sent with a carefully drawn up letter.

By the middle of the summer, the dissenters had grown bolder than ever before, having gained courage from the action of the confederates, and also from the fact that the government was evidently afraid † to

* Pontus Payen, i., 119. This secretary was, as his name shows, of Flemish descent, and was probably the son of Jean Van den Esse, who wrote the *Relation of the Voyages of Charles V.*—Pontus Payen, i., 197.

† After much discussion among Margaret's advisers, while awaiting orders from Spain, a so-called "Moderation" was published, professing to soften Philip's terms, but it seemed so little mild to the populace that it was straightway christened "the murderation."—Groen, *Archives*, i., 119; Pontus Payen, i., 147; Wagenaar, xxii., 158, "Moderatie die den naam van moorderatie krygt."

enforce the prescribed measures. The dissenters were for the most part poor people, and the espousal of their cause by influential and prominent men seemed to them full of good omen. The sermons were given with less and less secrecy, and the hearers thronged in ever increasing numbers. This was of course displeasing to the bishops, who deluged the unhappy regent with their complaints.

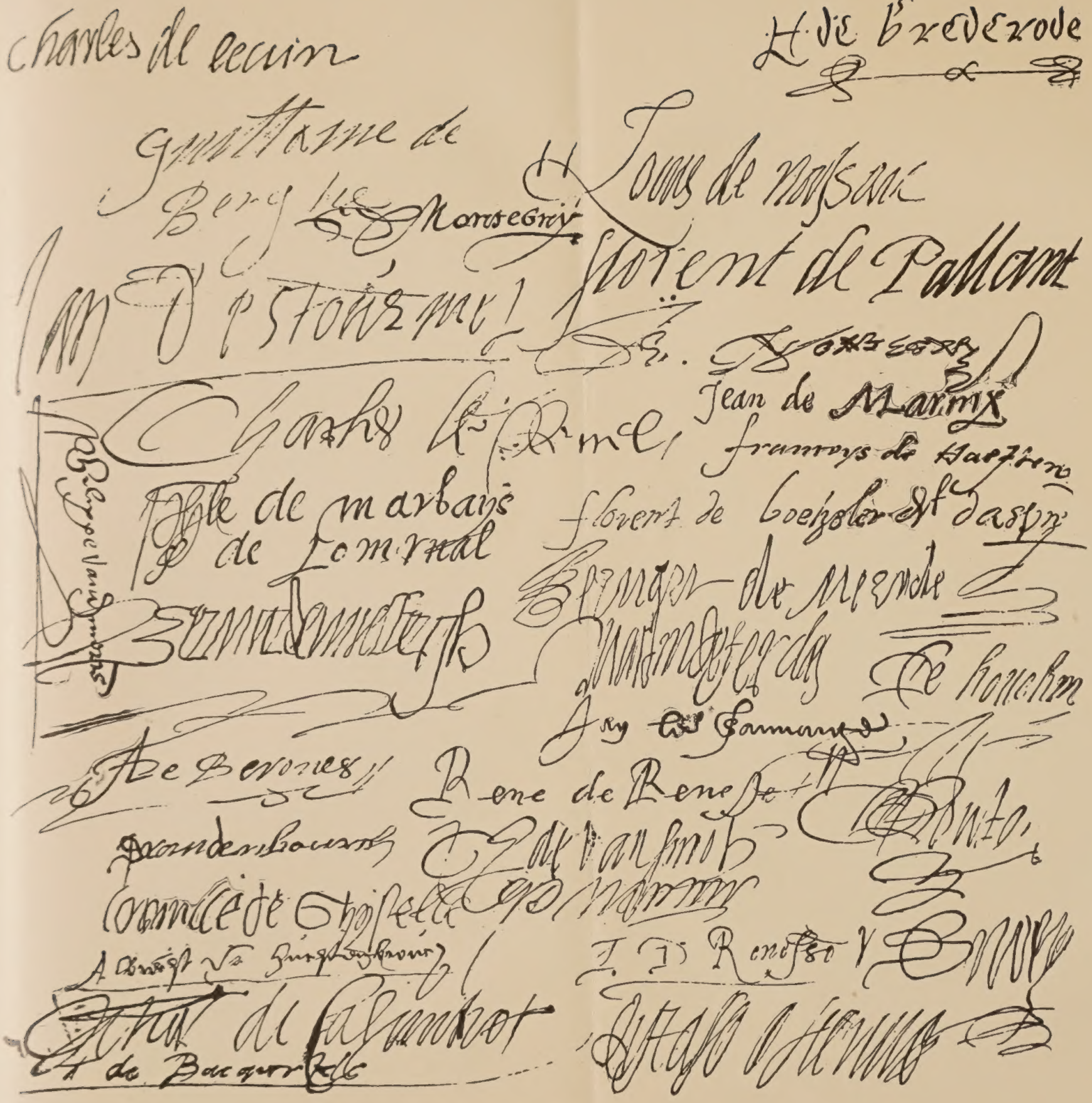
Brederode was in high spirits. He wrote* jubilantly, hoping that a certain letter would fall into the hands of the regent, and torment her. He ends his epistle by drinking to the health of Signior "Jonker Willem." The confederates† did not fail to confer together whenever occasion offered, and about the middle of July they had a formal meeting at St. Trond, a small place between Brussels and Liege, now a railroad junction. Bold language was heard at this assembly. Some of the nobles went so far as to assert the possibility of demanding absolute freedom of conscience for all sects. This was a radical measure with which the prince did not then sympathise. He was willing to countenance the Lutherans, but he had nothing in common with the Calvinists, while he detested the Anabaptists, and warned Louis not to give such people too much encouragement.‡

Orange and Egmont did not go to St. Trond, but, at the regent's request, they met some of the gentlemen at Duffel, and urged the confederates to behave

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 129.

† Strada, v., 119. Hoofd, iii., 90. Wagenaar, xxii., 174.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, ii., 168.



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES OF NOBLES, ST. TROND, JULY, 1566.

themselves, and act in accordance with their April promises.*

On the 30th of July, they were permitted to present a new petition to the regent,† the terms of which had been softened, and revised by the prince, but it was bold enough to infuriate Margaret. They asked for a guaranty of safety for all those who had taken part in the April petition, asserted their willingness to shed their life's blood against a foreign foe, but that nothing would induce them to take arms against their countrymen.

If the regent would promise to confer with Orange, Egmont, and Horn on every action, and would convene the states-general, they—the confederates—would promise to do their best to keep peace in the land, and to hold back popular outbreaks. ‡ Margaret wrote to her brother that this new request was "more bitter to the taste, and harder to digest than the former paper." Her answer to the petitioners was stiff and ambiguous; she said she could decide nothing without the council, and that she would also lay the matter before the assembly of the Knights of the Fleece, which was to take place in August.

During the early summer public sermons were given in both French and Flemish at Antwerp.§

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 149.

† Louis wrote to Orange: "The regent made infinite difficulty about seeing us, but finally allowed us to make our report to the council of state, though she was so angry, she was like to burst."—Groen, *Archives*, ii., 178.

‡ Strada (English version), v., 120.

§ Wagenaar, xxii., 184 *et seq.* Hoofd, iii., 84.

June 24th, an assembly was held near Berchem, of four or five thousand people. The municipal authorities tried in vain to prevent these assemblies, and finally appealed to the regent to know what to do; she ordered that all such meetings should be dispersed by force of arms. This the magistrates were afraid to do, fearing their own weakness. July 2d, a placard was published, prohibiting the entry of strangers into the city, and forbidding public preaching. On the same day, the reformers petitioned for permission to give and hear sermons as they wished. Between two fires, the magistrates did not know which way to turn, and wrote to the regent, begging her to come straightway to Antwerp. Such was the condition of things, when the prince wrote* the following letter to Louis:

"July 5th.

"My Brother: Madame is resolved on acceding to the request of the Antwerpians, that she should go there shortly, and has ordered M. d'Egmont and me to precede her, by two or three days, to declare to the Antwerp citizens, that we, as well as Madame, are displeased with these sermons. She also wishes us to ascertain from the city gentlemen, what surety they will give Madame for her personal safety, and for the non-occurrence of the sermons. I do not think it is at all suitable for me to go there for that purpose. Indeed I am unwilling to go in company with any gentleman at all, for I alone will be blamed if any ill result follow, while my companion will receive all the credit, if the mission be successful. There are other objections besides, too

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 137.

PROTESTANT PREACHING, WITHOUT THE WALLS OF ANTWERP.

numerous to mention. After many disputes, Madame directed the Antwerp deputies to present to the commune the above mentioned points, and said in addition, that as Monsieur Aremberg would be passing through Antwerp to-morrow, or the day after, he would speak a word or two to the citizens.

"I told Madame, that although I objected to going this time, and on this errand, nevertheless if her Highness wished to send me alone, and with fitting authority, I would gladly do as much as in me lies, to prevent any tumult or disorder from arising in the city, but I would not go for two or three days.

"I think the great council * will probably be assembled to-morrow. If you think they would like me to come as their viscount, to see what can be done, so that Madame may make her visit with greater security, I will leave it to you, provided only, that it be done secretly and dexterously, for it seems to me that will be a more dignified course for me than to go like a courier to engage lodgings for Madame. As for Brederode, I do not think he ought to go at this crisis, for several reasons, though I beg you to kiss his hands for me. I pray you not to mention what I have said; burn this letter, and come as quickly as you can. My *besa manos* to my brother."

In spite of Orange's disapproval, Brederode did go to Antwerp with numerous followers, and his presence did not pave the way for the prince to accomplish his object of quieting the turbulent spirits. For that it was his object, I have no doubt. He knew of course, to a great degree, what Louis and his friends were about. He did not desire to know

* The *Breede Raadt* of Antwerp.

more, until he was sure what was to be the issue with Philip. He wished to be loyal, but he already saw in the distance a point, beyond which he did not feel bound to go, and he prepared for a possible emergency.

July 6th, the prince wrote* to Philip of Hesse, complaining of Philip of Spain's long delay in replying to their demands, and begging the Hessian's fatherly counsel and aid in case of necessity.

The situation in Antwerp was as follows:

It was by no means a homogeneous city of Flemish inhabitants. Indeed it was probably the most cosmopolitan place in the European world of the time. Merchants of all other trading towns† had their own houses, for the benefit of their fellow townsmen visiting Antwerp on commercial, financial, or diplomatic errands. These travellers were the great porters of new ideas, and by their medium all the various phases of religious thought and interest, which were fermenting in Europe, had penetrated into the narrow streets of the city on the wharf.

The more westerly towns, like Valenciennes, near to French soil, were almost entirely Calvinist, but Antwerp had felt German influence, and there were large congregations of Lutherans and Anabaptists within her walls. During the first half of 1566,

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 141.

† There is in the Brussels Library a very interesting collection of letters about establishing a new post of English trade when war in the Netherlands made Antwerp undesirable. After much discussion Hamburg was selected, and grew in commercial importance from that time on.

these sects had grown bolder and bolder. The rumours of their growing audacity reached Margaret's ears, and she was greatly exercised.

Orange was hereditary Burgrave or Viscount of Antwerp, as his relatives, Engelbert, Henry, and Réné of Nassau, had been before him.

July 13th he left Brussels, "although," to quote from Hopper,* "he had refused, and was most anxious to retire from his governments, notwithstanding a gracious letter from Philip."

Before yielding to Margaret's persuasion to go to Antwerp, Orange plainly told the regent that he could not stop the preachings.

He found the city divided against itself. The magistrates distrusted the citizens; the citizens, the court and magistrates; the Protestants, the court, magistrates, and other citizens; and finally the Protestants were themselves divided, on one side Calvinists, Lutherans on the other, with the Anabaptists antagonistic to both.

"*Universæ fæces Antwerpiam insederant*," as Strada puts it. †

Imagine the task before the poor prince. He himself was essentially a law-abiding citizen. He considered religion as a needful part of the state machinery, and was still himself without real religious feeling. He wanted peace and prosperity, and the people were such fools, and Philip such a short-sighted donkey, that he was discouraged at the idea of trying to reconcile them.

* *Mémoires*, p. 91. Groen, ii., 151.

† Strada, v., 114.

This is his own account of arriving at Antwerp.*

"ANTWERP, July 14th.

"MADAME: I only arrived here at seven o'clock because I was delayed by various affairs, and left Brussels late. When I reached the neighbourhood of Berchem half a league from here, M. de Brederode met me with a goodly number of gentlemen, who after giving me a salvo with their pistols, a few bourgeois being in the troop shouted 'Vivent les Gueux,' and this continued from time to time all the way to the city. I should judge that there were, in all, about 30,000 men.†

"The citizens came to meet me, and when I expressed the great desire of your Highness to aid them, they gave me certain articles, or ordinances, to establish quiet in this city, which we shall carefully examine to-day. They report that the preaching took place to-day outside the walls, and that many of the large congregations went armed to protect the others, because they had heard that the *Drossart* of Brabant was commissioned to disperse their gathering. As soon as possible, I had an interview with the chief dissenters and urged them to desist from assemblies. I fear, however, that this will have no effect, but I hope that they will not try preaching within the walls.

"Whatever happens shall be straightway reported to your Highness."

* Orange to Margaret of Parma, Gachard, *Cor.*, ii. 136.

† Strada says (v., 118): "When that huge crowd began to sing psalms in French, he [the prince] commanded them presently to hold their peace. . . . Nay those that were got upon the walls, louder than before, shouting out the same wishes for the *Gheuses*; when he could not rule their tongues by signs, he grew in choler, and swore by God they were best consider what they did, for if they proceeded some of them should repent it."

A daily interchange of notes between the regent and prince follows. He soon became convinced that the reform party was too numerically strong for it to be possible to refuse permission to preach. If, at this epoch, the reformers had only been able to agree among themselves, all must have gone well, but their dissension was fatal. As usual the Anabaptists were against every man, and every man was against them. The duchess alone was quite ready to treat them on the same basis as the Lutherans and Calvinists, considering all alike as heretics with nothing to choose between them.

Orange really could not bear disorderly action of any kind, it was constitutionally disagreeable to him. There was nothing revolutionary in his spirit. On that account he hated the unregulated Anabaptist preaching. All the sects were united in one thing, and that was a hope that the nobles assembled at St. Trond would aid and protect them, and to that assemblage the merchants also looked for protection, necessary for commerce as well as for religion.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE OUTBREAK AT ANTWERP.

1566.

ORANGE exerted himself to good purpose at Antwerp, and in a short time, with the co-operation of the magistrates, he had produced comparative order, and succeeded in persuading the foreign merchants to remain in the city. He decided not to prohibit the sermons, but to see that they were given quietly and peaceably. To insure order, he proposed reinforcing the municipal troops by a few hundred men in the city's pay, but the magistrates vetoed this proposition.

Margaret, meanwhile, was in a state of great anxiety, uncertain what the dreaded confederates might do next. She finally decided to summon the Knights of the Fleece, to confer with her on an answer to the last petition. She wrote * repeatedly to Orange insisting on his coming, which he was loath to do, as he knew that the apparent calm in Antwerp was only on the surface. The regent utterly refused to listen

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 179 *et seq.*

to his representations that it was unsafe for him to leave his charge, and also refused his request for a lieutenant, saying that the ordinary town officers were quite sufficient.

August 18th was then, and is now, a favourite festival in the holiday-loving Flemish city. There was a certain little image of the Virgin kept in the Antwerp Cathedral, which it was customary to carry around the city on that day. From this came the name of the festival—the *ommegang*, or circuit. Knowing that there was always danger in crowds, the prince insisted on deferring his departure until after this celebration, and on the 18th,* went to the town hall with the princess and Louis to watch the festivities from a window.

When the little image, decked as usual, in the rich gifts that had been showered on her from time to time, left the sanctuary, she was greeted by jeers from the crowd who followed her at a safe distance, confining their turbulence, however, to derisive shouts of "Mayken, Mayken, thine hour has struck. This is the last time thou shalt walk abroad. The city is tired of thee." A few missiles were thrown, but no damage was done, and the poor harmless image, treated disrespectfully for the first time, was safely carried back to the sanctuary. It was customary to place her near the west door of the cathedral, on her return from this outing, there to receive congratulations and offerings on her fête. But this

* *Histoire de la Révolution des Pays-Bas sous Philippe II.*, par Théodore Juste, ii., p. 176, Brussels, Alex Jamar, 1860. Hoofd, iii., 92 *et seq.*

year her guardians were too glad to have her safely back under shelter, to run further risks, and ordered her to be put in the choir behind an iron railing.

On the day after the procession, Orange obeyed the regent's imperious command, and set out for Brussels at an early hour, hoping that danger was no longer imminent, but still not free from apprehensions. His fears were but too well founded. Before he could have reached Brussels, the crowd gathered around the Antwerp Cathedral door and discovered the image, hidden away, instead of standing boldly forth to receive the homage that had always been her due. Thus the populace was allowed to see its power. They began to repeat cries like those of the day before. "Mayken, Mayken, art terrified so soon? Hast flown to thy nest so early? Dost think thyself beyond the reach of mischief? Look out, Mayken, thine hour is coming!" The church stood open, as was and is its wont, and the crowd strolled in and around the edifice as unchecked as the Baedeker-led tourist of to-day. A ragged fellow finally ventured to go up into the pulpit, open the Bible, and begin a caricature of a monkish sermon. Some of the bystanders cried "Shame," but others applauded and shouted "Long live the Beggars," words that were then beginning to occur as naturally to a Flemish mob, as the Marseillaise to modern French rioters. But the cry* did not by any means always have special reference to the confederates.

Popular sympathy was not all with the dissenters.

* Hoofd, iii., 99

Some of the mob attacked the preacher, who, it must be understood, was in no sense a minister, even of the least formal order. He was simply a mocker. At last a young sailor sprang upon him, and flung him headlong down the pulpit steps. The strugglers were both uninjured, but a general *mêlée* followed. One pistol shot was fired and the sailor was wounded in the arm. It was with the greatest difficulty that the priests finally succeeded in clearing the edifice and the big church doors were locked.

Meanwhile, the city fathers were assembled in the town hall. The one man on whom they had relied for the past few weeks was gone, and there was no telegraph to summon him back, but they sent a messenger after him post-haste. They spent the day in futile deliberation, and finally went home, having reached no conclusion, but hoping that peace would descend on the morrow. The mob, however, finding that no measures had been taken against their lawlessness, became more and more audacious. The next morning when the church doors were opened, an angry throng entered, and "Long live the Beggars" resounded through the building. Sneers and threats were hurled at the unfortunate little doll.

A poor old woman, who sold images, became a butt for the witticisms of the mob.* She replied to the gibes, by throwing her wares at her assailants. The cathedral filled with new-comers, who took sides, barely knowing why, and a wild tumult ensued.

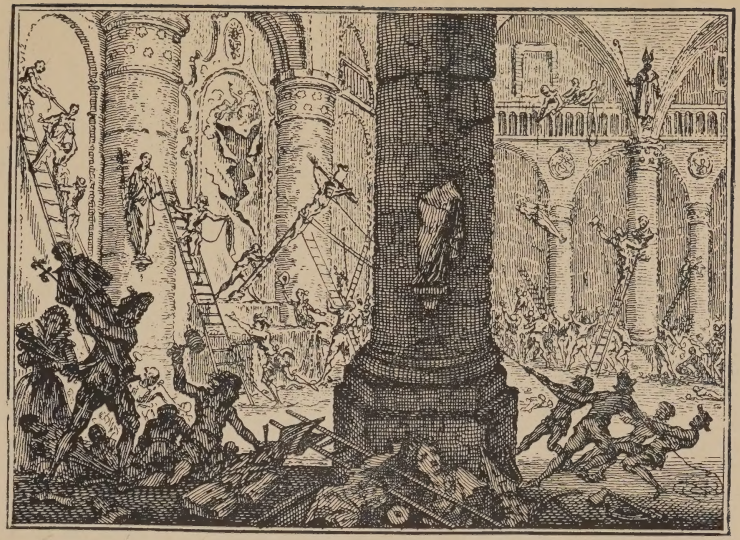
When the news reached the town hall, the corporation determined to go in a body to the cathedral,

* Hoofd, iii., 93 *et seq.*

and try the effect of their august presence. It seemed like oil on the troubled waters, and a lull followed. The senate proposed that all doors, but one, should be closed, and that they should leave the church by that exit, hoping that the crowd would follow suit. This scheme did not work. The senators left, except John von Immerzeel, the margrave, but as they went out the mob flowed in, and every effort to stem the tide proved vain. The fury of the mob increased unmeaningly; the poor margrave and church attendants were finally driven out; the cathedral was left to the mercy of the invaders, and a work of wild destruction began.

The wooden virgin was the first victim. Her splendour was cast to the winds, and her soulless body hacked to fragments. Then the mob turned to the other ornaments of the decorated building, tore pictures and carvings from the walls, and vessels and vestments from their places of safe keeping. Since the sack of Rome, no such utter contempt for sacred property had been witnessed in Europe. All the accumulated hatred for priestcraft and tools of the Romanists broke out, and those who acted from real religious zeal were aided by the riff-raff who had no opinions at stake, but joined in the *mêlée* from mere love of excitement.

From the cathedral the crowd made their way to one church after another, and for two days and nights the iconoclastic havoc went on. Images were broken, pictures destroyed, crucifixes thrown down. Libraries were burned, and gallons of old wine poured out on the ground.



ICONOCLASM IN ANTWERP CATHEDRAL.

Even the Catholic writers acknowledge that there was almost no plunder. The hated objects, even when of intrinsic value, were destroyed, not appropriated.

The town council and corporation sat trembling in their houses, unable to stay the storm, hoping for the prince's coming, and fearing for their lives. But in this last particular their dread was unnecessary. No personal violence of any kind was wittingly committed; no individual was injured. And this was a marked feature in the whole tempest of iconoclasm which burst upon the land during the month of August. Images were broken, but human heads spared.

The news reached Brussels, and threw the duchess into consternation. Just why Orange did not immediately accede to the demands of the Antwerp authorities and return to his charge there, I do not know. Probably, however, it was Margaret who held him back. In her mind he was a tribune of the people, and as the rule of King Mob seemed imminent, she wished a protector at her side.

Margaret did not, of course, appreciate the peculiar qualities of the outbreak. That beast, the people, was showing its horns, and crushed it must be, and brought to submission. A possible right on their part never entered her head. But she was thoroughly frightened at the outburst, and clung to every protection that offered itself.

At three o'clock in the morning of August 22d, Egmont, Horn, Orange, and others were summoned to the palace.* The courtyard was full of the bustle

* Letter of Horn to his brother, Groen, *Archives*, ii., 237.

of preparation, and the ruler ready to fly to Mons, at a moment's notice, where she thought Aerschot's government would insure her personal safety. The ultra-royalists, Aremberg, Berlaymont, and Noircarmes were with the duchess when the others arrived. The latter at once perceived that her flight meant the loss of the government. If Orange had really been as deep in illegitimate plots of rebellion as Baron Lettenhove * makes him out to be, here was his opportunity. Had he thrown the slightest weight in favour of the regent's departure, he might have seized the reins of authority. But he did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he pointed out to Margaret the utter folly of such a course. Old President Viglius came in with the news that the citizens had closed the Brussels gates to prevent the regent's exit. She turned on the poor old man with a torrent of reproaches. Finally she yielded to the persuasions of the nobles and consented to await results one day longer.

Mansfeld was put in control of the city, and Egmont, Horn, and Orange agreed to serve under him. They went together to the town hall, announced this arrangement to the people, and were received with acclamations, and promises to stick by the duchess. It was rumoured that the iconoclasts meant to fall upon all the Brussels churches, the night of August 24th. Margaret went from one panic into another, and was only appeased with difficulty.†

* Lettenhove, i., 373 *et seq.*

† August 25th, Richard Clough wrote to Gresham from Antwerp: "In this towne all kind of merchandise is at a stey; and most men

Her terror increased, as news arrived from other cities in Flanders. In Tournay, Valenciennes, Ghent, Mechlin, and many more towns, the reports from Antwerp had kindled a fire.

Vain efforts were made in each case to check the passion of the mob, but iconoclastic fury did its work. Images and all adornments were torn from the churches, and everywhere the reformers, in the wildest spirit of fanaticism, gained the upper hand.

On August 25th,* Margaret was forced into an important concession. She reluctantly acknowledged that the reformers were too strong for her, and that she could not safely ignore their desire to worship according to their own taste. She therefore signed articles stipulating that public preaching should be accorded to the dissenters in all places where sermons had already taken place.†

Formal articles were drawn up and exchanged between the duchess and Louis of Nassau, attended by fifteen confederates. On their part these gentlemen signed a pledge, promising that as long as the regent held to her engagements they would consider

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of reputacion fled abrode into all places, for that of all lykelyhood this towne shall be in danger to be spoiled ; for that all the vagabonds of the country draweth to this town. God send us quyetness." The writer goes on to say that the news from Brussels gave the Antwerp preachers courage.—Burgon, *Life of Sir T. Gresham*, ii., 148.

* *Cor. de Philippe II.* ; Gachard, i., cxliv.

Groen (ii., 236) gives this date as the 23d, in which he follows Hoofd—iii., 102. Mr. Motley gives August 23d—ii., 12-14 ; August 24th—ii., 17-18, 22 ; and August 25th—i., 575. Renon de France also gives August 23d—i., 140.

† Hoofd, iii., 101 *et seq.*

their league annulled, and do all in their power to maintain Philip's authority.

This Accord * further declared the inquisition in abeyance, and promised that the king would speedily issue a new edict, expressly to protect the nobles from any punishment for past transactions, and to assert their eligibility for royal service. Where public preaching had been held, there it might continue. This was considered a great step towards recognition of popular rights. When the letters patent † to this effect were received in the various city senates, there was public rejoicing, and the ever hopeful Netherlanders thought a new day was dawning.

August 26th, Orange returned to Antwerp, and on the 29th, writes as follows to Margaret ‡:

"Madame, having arrived in this city, I found affairs very confused, and I will do my utmost to have the dishonoured and pillaged churches restored to the honour of God, according to the holy intention of his Majesty, your Highness, and my own.

"I have spoken to von Stralen, as your Highness commanded, to have money ready to pay the *bandes d'ordonnance*. He told me that he already had a little on hand, which he mentioned to Grobbendonck, who, I doubt not, will duly report to your Highness, and I refer to him. . . ."

Orange found plenty of business awaiting him in Antwerp. The whole place looked as though a

* It is possible that this was agreed to on the 23d and signed on the 25th.

† Groen, *Archives*, ii., 240.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 196.

cyclone had passed over it, and it was difficult to restore order. The prince's position was a strange one at this time.

The confederates distrusted Margaret's good faith, and decided to have armed men in their pay, and John of Nassau had undertaken to levy German mercenaries for this purpose. It is impossible that Orange was ignorant of this. Levying troops to oppose government measures * is of course a revolutionary matter, yet surely there never was a more loyal rebel than the prince.

He left no stone unturned to give to all citizens their due, and published an ordinance, forbidding, under penalty of death, the slightest disturbance of Catholic rites, or any insult to ecclesiastics, and showed his determination to enforce this, by having three image breakers hanged in his presence. † He certainly evinced an energetic determination to support the royal authority to the utmost extent of his powers, while at the same time he pointed out plainly to the regent, that the government only showed its own weakness by making laws that could not be enforced, and that certain license must be permitted to the religion of the populace. He consented to the reinforcement of the garrison in Antwerp, and elsewhere, but lost no opportunity of urging the assembling of the states-general.

Margaret's letters to the prince breathe confidence in him. September 1st, she wrote ‡ to beg him to

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 178.

† Hoofd, iii., 106.

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 207.

come to see her, as she has heard rumours of the confederates' levies in Germany, and is anxious to consult him.

If she had known that, on the very day before she wrote, the prince had despatched a long letter to Henry of Brunswick,* to be forwarded to the Hesses, the Duke of Cleves, and Count Schwarzburg, she might not have been so anxious for his counsel. The writer describes the "wild game" religion has been playing in the Netherlands, adding, one might say naïvely had the words come from any one but him: "We can well guess that this behaviour will greatly displease and grieve our most gracious lord, the royal Majesty of Spain, as indeed it does not less trouble and grieve us." He goes on to say that, had the Spanish king banished the inquisition sooner from the land, these troubles would not have arisen, and the old Catholic religion would have been better maintained. His phrases, as always, are judicious, and the reader might see a general love for peace and order, or a real adherence to Catholicism, as he wished.

He reiterates his conviction that if the reformers had been allowed peaceful exercise of their rites, all would have gone well. He hopes that Philip is going to hear reason, and that matters will mend. Otherwise nothing much is going on. The rumour of Eric's levies is dying away—not much that is new comes from France, etc.

An excellent letter of the kind; if this were treachery the prince was planning, it was the most

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 261.

above-board plotting ever indulged in by a statesman. He is like Washington in wishing to have every step justified in the eyes of the world. The following letter from Louis,* then at Breda, to his brother, shows another view of the situation:

"September 2d.

"MONSIEUR: This morning your messenger, d'Etten, returned from Col. George von Holl, and gave me an account of his mission. Affairs in that quarter, it seems, are in a fairly good condition, and to our advantage, as you will learn from the said messenger.

"I think you should write at once to Duke Henry, and tell him the state of affairs here, both to forestall any false rumours which may be afloat about us all, and to maintain the affection he bears you. As to the interview between the colonel and myself, I think it very desirable, but I am afraid that the present time will not permit it. However, I will do as you say. Concerning George von Holl's demand for the assurance of 3000 horse, and a certain number of foot soldiers, I find it perfectly reasonable, and very necessary, even if it were only to gain friendship. And all this will put a little water in the king's wine.

"I would like to be with you a few hours, just to discuss the most important points. I hope matters here will permit me to go to you to-morrow evening, or the following day before dinner, so as to return and finish all. However, I will await your answer. I do not doubt that your citizens will obey you, so your resolution once taken, I will not fail to see it executed.

"I have sent you a buck, which I found yesterday in

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 271.

the deer park (where I see many beasts, stags and others) so very à propos, that I could not resist giving him a shot from my arquebus . . . It is venison such as one seldom sees. I assure you your woods are well stocked for next year; you will have more than twenty stags * fit for the chase."

Sir Thomas Gresham had considered it advisable to return to his post in Antwerp, on hearing of the uneasy state of public feeling. September 8th, he wrote to Cecil as follows †:

"On the fourth of this present, the Prince of Orendge sent for me to dine with him, who gave me verie great entertainment; and as he demanded of the helth of the Quene's Majestie, he of himself discoursed unto me all the proceedings of this toun, and what a dangerous piece of worke it was, and that now he had agreed with the Protestants; which, agreement he caused to be reade unto me by the recorder of this toune, Weasingbeck (he which came into England for the license of corn) being the same daie proclaimed at the toune-house: the copie thereof I send you here inclosed. But in all this discourse he said: 'The Kinge wold not be content with this, oure doings'; which causeth me to think this matter is not yet ended, but like to come to great mischief; and specially if the Kinge of Spaine maie get the upper hande. He also asked me 'whether our nation was minded to depart this toun or not.' I showed him, I heard of no such matter. . . ."

* Louis counted the stags, but, alas! when the next season came, Breda was in possession of the enemy.

† Burgon, ii., 160 *et seq.*

Orange had evidently given the dinner for the sake of sounding English opinion.

"In all his talk he said unto me, 'I know this will nothing content the king;' and at dinner he carved me, himself, all the dinner time; and in the midst of dinner, he drank a carouse to the Queen's Majestie, which carouse the princess, his wief, and withal the borde did the like."

Meanwhile it can easily be imagined that the family in the quiet Dillenburg castle watched anxiously for the arrival of the couriers.

Countess Juliana was still living, and the state of Netherland affairs, which apparently placed one son on the side of law and established government, and the other in open rebellion to the very authority his brother represented, gave great anxiety to the mother, watching eagerly from that distant German hilltop. Juliana wrote* as follows to Louis, August 31st:

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* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 259; *ibid.*, 211. Louis wrote to John of Nassau:

"I really do not know what should be done with my young brother Henry, so that his youth shall not be wasted. I have talked your opinion over with the prince and agree with you that we should wait a little, for as soon as he is sent to a German University he must forfeit all his ecclesiastical property, which amounts to 1500 florins yearly. In the hopes of obviating this, we have arranged that the reverend Count William of Schauenberg should hold the benefices until my brother can make use of them, and Count William can hand him over the income. Then my brother will be free to go where he will." Even Louis, with all his religious zeal, had no scruples about reaping benefits from an unearned benefice.

"May you ever have what my motherly love would wish for you, my well-born, friendly, heart-loved son. With a heavy heart have I heard of the danger and alarming transactions which now surround you. May the Holy Trinity guard and protect you, that every counsel may be taken by God's blessing, and that also you may not fail in human wisdom, but pray your Heavenly Father and His holy spirit daily, that He may illumine your heart, that you may honour His divine word, and prize eternal things above temporal. . . .

"Ah! how heavy is my spirit! What deep sorrow I feel for you! What I can do with prayers I shall not fail diligently to try.

"The merciful God sends all for His good blessed end, and will never forsake those whose intentions are good and Christian, and will shield you from all evil.

"What you have received from my son Henry's schoolmaster, which you write you send me, has not yet reached me.

"I have heard, however, that Juliana and Magdalena have it with them, but they have not yet arrived. I cannot think where they have stayed so long, for I have not received any message from them, but I expect them now every day. . . . I send herewith a short prayer, which I beg thee to pray every day, and call on the merciful God in all thy affairs, and ask that He shelter thee from all ill."

The Nassau men were undoubtedly influenced in their religion by motives of policy, but not so with this brave mother. Religion was life with her, and she sent up many prayers for those "heart-loved" dear sons, who had involved themselves in a foreign cause in a foreign land.

What the prince succeeded in accomplishing in Antwerp appears from his own words *:

"MADAME: Yesterday, thank God, there was again preaching in the great church at Notre Dame, owing to my exertions. Mass was also celebrated publicly as usual, in the presence of a goodly assembly.

"Your Highness may rest assured that in a short time, with God's aid, I will execute her orders that divine service be re-established everywhere. The opposition, however, in this city is very strong, even among people of good standing."

Thus twelve days after the desecration of the Antwerp Cathedral it was solemnly restored to its original purposes, and solely by the exertions of the man whose title later became the synonym for aggressive Protestantism. Margaret probably did offer an indignant thanksgiving that the restoration of Notre Dame had been accomplished, but her wrath that such restoration had been rendered necessary, was of course still in the ascendant.

Orange's next report to her was as follows †:

"MADAME: It is with the greatest difficulty that I have pacified the disturbances in this city, because everything was so disordered when I arrived. Those of the new religion have indulged in the utmost license, and they are so numerous in this city that they think they have everything in their power.

"After an infinite amount of discussion, it seemed best to make an agreement, a duplicate of which I en-

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 208.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 213.

close to your Highness. Madame will see that I have not exceeded the concessions stipulated in the Accord with the nobles and confederates, but I have introduced several articles securing the maintenance of our ancient and Catholic faith, protecting the king's service and safety of the city. I decided, however, that it was wiser to permit intra-mural preaching, and repeat the reason for this, which I have already given your Highness.

"Every time the sermons are held outside, 18,000 to 20,000 persons flock out of the various gates. Trades are at a standstill in Flanders, as elsewhere, and the country is full of vagabonds, who can easily join the crowds returning from the sermons, and thus make their way into the city, which is known to be rich and full of booty. If these tramps are added to the great number of unemployed workmen already in the city there may be more trouble."

Having dwelt further on the dangers these vagabonds bring to Antwerp, he adds:

"I therefore beg your Highness to take it in good part, that I agreed to make this treaty, so that all the churches should be opened, and divine service continued, without fear of consequences. It is above all important that your Highness should realise the numerical strength of the reformers in the city."

This was exactly what the duchess would not realise, and she was highly dissatisfied with the recognition of the obnoxious sects, and of the concessions made to them.

Her letters * to the prince are full of objections to

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 225–241.

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FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES: JULIANA OF STOLBERG; LOUIS OF NASSAU; MARGARET OF PARMA.

his course of action, while his indignation increased at her expectation that he should do the impossible, when he had already accomplished the improbable.

Early in September, Egmont wrote to Orange, just as he was on the eve of departure for his governments. It is a depressed letter and full of distrust of the regent *:

"September 6th.

"I pray God that her intentions may be good, but she seems to me very much excited, and in my opinion trusts to none but Berlaymont, Viglius, Assonleville, and people of that kind.

"She has council meetings with them every day, three hours at a time. I leave you to think what that portends. She said she had been advised of levies set on foot in Saxony and Hesse by our people. But I cannot believe that this is true, for it would be quite contrary to what the nobles have assured me."

Evidently the count was even less in the confidence of the confederated nobles than Orange. The latter deliberately shut his eyes to what was before them; the former was not trusted, and was too simple to suspect what was not patent, and thus remained in ignorance.

Motley † puts this month of September as the date when the "treasonable thoughts" of Orange began. By treasonable thoughts, I suppose, is meant plans to oppose formally, and by force, the oppression of the foreign monarch, and to make a vigorous effort to obtain home rule. There seems,

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 279.

† Motley, ii., 31.

however, good evidence that this thought was full fledged in the prince's mind some months previous to this date, and that is one reason why his staunch efforts to set the king's authority on its feet again are really very remarkable. No one who will carefully follow the events of 1566, can doubt the sincerity of these efforts. In September, however, probably after the receipt of this letter from Egmont, he despatched one Varich, to the count.

Orange had two strings to his bow; he saw means of falling back on other resources than Philip's mercy. He had visions of upholding the people, in whose breasts a desire for national existence was beginning to throb.

Egmont possessed a spark of magnetism that Orange lacked. There was in him that indefinable quality that attracts personal admiration. He had been successful, he was ruled by impulse and not by reason, two great factors in being a popular hero. The warmth that grew slowly in Orange's character was born in Egmont's.

Orange thoroughly realised this difference between them, and felt that with Egmont the cause would be theirs. But there was one great difficulty in the way of Egmont's leadership, and that was himself. At heart he was loyal to Spain * as Orange had never been since his page-days. He could not yet believe entirely that all the impressions of his futile Spanish journey were false.

His letter of September 6th, to Orange is proof

* It really was not "for a handful of silver he left them, nor for a ribbon to stick in his coat."

positive that he knew nothing of the attempts to secure German aid.

The messenger chosen by the prince was one Varich, a trusted gentleman and brother to the governor of the little principality of Orange. The instructions seem to be in Louis's handwriting, and it may be that the persuasions of the young enthusiast finally won over his more prudent brother to this step of showing his hand to Egmont.

The instructions were as follows: M. de Varich should call Egmont's attention to the rumours of the extensive preparations set on foot by his Spanish Majesty, "so that not only the dissenters are suspicious, but also the Catholics, fearing that his Majesty means to reduce them to the condition of slaves." Varich was instructed to expatiate on the probability that Philip, under the pretence of enforcing a state religion, intended to place free citizens on the footing of conquered tribes.

"Monsieur has resolved for himself not to stay in the country to be a witness of its ruin and the degradation of the people. Nevertheless if the count and the admiral were of like opinion [*i. e.* not to submit to tyrannical oppression], Monsieur offers to busy himself and his friends in finding means to avoid it. It would be a good thing to assemble the states-general, *but it would be better for us three with our friends not to let the grass grow under our feet until it be too late for action.*" *

Varich was further to bid the count notice what injustice has been done to the prince, in sending Eric of Brunswick with his troops to Holland.

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 324. (Varich's instructions.)

"From this M. Egmont may see how they try to fortify Holland gradually. Under shadow of five hundred they could easily bring a thousand men . . . Monsieur is resolved to resign his governments and free himself from all obligations, but he will do nothing without advice from Egmont and the admiral."

The last direction is to make excuses that Monsieur cannot go in person, and to arrange for a meeting, if Egmont thought it good.

Egmont replied to this message in an unenthusiastic little note,* agreeing to meet Orange at Termonde on the following Thursday at ten.

With his ready optimism, the count gave credence to the regent's assurance that Philip intended to consent to the assembly of the states-general, and thought it a great pity that Brederode and Culemburg were going so far.

The following Thursday, accordingly, the interview took place.† It was not long, as the conference did not begin until nearly 11 A.M. and was finished before dinner, which never took place later than noon.

The nobles all complained bitterly of the regent, and Louis of Nassau, especially, was wroth at her suggestion to his brother that he should be banished from the land. Horn produced a letter from his brother, describing Philip's wrath at the iconoclasm, and then they discussed an alleged let-

* Groen, *Archives*, ii., 344. October 1.

† Strada, v., 135. See also Egmont's statement at his trial. Groen, *Archives*, ii., 343. *Procès d'Egmont*, i., 73.

ter* from Don Alava, Spanish ambassador to the court of France, to the duchess, declaring that it was Philip's intention to roundly punish the Prince of Orange and his two accomplices, Counts Egmont and Horn. Louis of Nassau said, and the prince agreed with him, that if the king were to send an army to the Netherlands to establish tyranny, the nobles would be justified in opposing German mercenaries to the Spaniards. The general sentiment was that Philip was playing them false. The prince's aim was to sound Egmont and get him to promise concurrence in case of certain events. This Egmont definitely refused to do, and Horn followed his example. Fourteen years later, Orange wrote in his *Apology* †:

"If my comrades and brothers of the Order had only preferred to unite their counsels to mine, rather than sell their lives cheaply, we could have employed every means in our power, our money and our blood, to prevent Alva and the Spaniards from getting a foothold in the land."

Horn was embittered with the world in general, and had no hope in any reformation, and Egmont was utterly incredulous of coming evil. He shook his head over Alava's letter,‡ thought things could

* This letter appears to have been an undoubted forgery. Lettenhove even suggests that Orange planned the whole thing, but really very little depends on this particular document. There is plenty of evidence elsewhere that Philip distrusted these nobles, and only proposed to make use of them for a time.

† *Apology*, p. 25.

‡ Strada (v., 135) says: "Whether all this were cunningly given out to move the people to despair of pardon, or really writ from

not be so bad as that, took it with him to Brussels, and triumphantly said: "I told you so," when Margaret "swore it was the greatest villainy in the world.* . . ." Egmont accepted the statement, though, as he said to Orange, the letter did not convince him of Spanish mistrust as much as some other things.

By October, Antwerp was again in a fairly quiet condition, at least to the outward eye, while the northern provinces were in pressing need of their stadtholder, whose presence they had been long demanding.† The prince allowed the justice of their claim, but feared a revival of trouble if he left Antwerp to the care of her magistrates, who were too easily frightened out of their seven senses to be reliable guardians of disaffected citizens.

According to the regent's advices to Philip, the prince suggested that Brederode should be his lieu-

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Spain, and by Alava, I leave to indifferent judges. Sure I am that the governess said she had, as yet, no knowledge of the letter said to be sent by Alava and intercepted." As Motley (ii., 32) says, Margaret generally told the truth to Philip.

* Egmont to Orange, October 13th. Groen, *Archives*, ii., 399.

† The Hollanders insisted strenuously on having the prince come to them. In order to lure him [*om hem ook over te halen*] they gave it to be understood that the states had determined to give him a guard of thirty-six men, although Amsterdam and Gouda had not yet agreed. They also thought of giving him a present, as Flanders had done to Egmont. . . . They wished to give him fifty-five thousand pounds . . . but the prince thought in these hard times the money could be better used. But he accepted a grant for his expenses. . . . Orange, followed by his *bande d'ordonnance*, which consisted of two hundred and sixty horse, set out for Utrecht. —Wagenaar, xxii., 2; or *Resol. Holl.*, July, p. 28, *et seq.*

tenant in the north, while Margaret made the equally valuable suggestion that the Princess of Orange should represent her husband in Antwerp during his absence. Both of these propositions were set aside, the regent yielded to the prince's representation, Hoogstraaten was appointed lieutenant *pro tem.* in Antwerp, and Orange set out for Utrecht October 12th.

The troubles in the north were a simple repetition of those in Antwerp.* The reformed sects wished to hear preaching, the regent wished them prevented from so doing and punished for desecrating the established church buildings, while the prince wished to give the reformers the privileges he considered legalised by the Accord of August 25th.

There was much wrangling over the exact dates when preaching had been held in various places, and the question was not always easy to decide, as the witnesses were necessarily interested.

In Utrecht the prince was fairly successful in establishing order, and then he went on to Amsterdam. Margaret warned Orange before he left Utrecht—where she also refused to allow him to leave a lieutenant—that no sermons whatsoever must be allowed within the city limits of Amsterdam.†

* In Utrecht the dissenters, or *Onromschen*, were even more audacious than at Antwerp. The news of the iconoclasm spreading over the land emboldened them to demand the use of two churches. "The magistrates answered that they were not strong enough to determine such a weighty question. 'Eat ham with mustard and you will be strong,' was the impudent reply of one of the Calvinists, which has since cost him his head." (*Eet ham met mostard zo wordt gy sterk.*)—Wagenaar, xxii., 183.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 266.

The position of Amsterdam made the situation there unique. It is almost as completely a water city as Venice, and to send eager congregations outside city limits was to invite them to plunge into the literal *Y*, while their preachers explained the great mysteries. Orange was not blind to this problem, and begged * the duchess to send some other emissary to carry out her impossible mission. She answered † as follows:

"And for the last point, concerning your going to Amsterdam, I desire it earnestly, knowing the disorder which is there and in many other Holland towns.

"As I have written you, what I desire, if it be possible, is that the sermons should cease in Amsterdam and elsewhere. I hope this can be done, as I have always been informed that there were no sermons in the said city nor within its jurisdiction before the Accord, but only in a place adjoining the jurisdiction. Nevertheless, since they tell you that there was preaching outside the city in a place called *Lastaige*, before the Accord, if, on your arrival, you find this to be true, and if by good admonitions and exhortations you cannot content the sectaries and remedy affairs, then, in God's name, let them have their sermons in that same *Lastaige*, it being understood that they vacate the churches, convents, and city, in short, while the Catholic worship is re-established every-

* Gachard, *Cor.* ii., 289.

† Ibid., ii., 294.

The city is in the form of a half moon with the Y, an arm of the sea bounding it on the north. It is divided into about ninety islands by the river Amstel and numerous canals, while solid dykes alone protect the inhabitants from the invasion of the sea which frequently covers the low marshy ground surrounding the city on the land side.

where in conformity to the accord. Make an example of the profaners, violators, and spoilers of the churches. Do this, too, in other places where you find disorder, as you wrote me you did in the district of Utrecht.* "

January 4th, Orange wrote to the Elector of Saxony in full, describing the situation with natural bitterness. He acknowledges that up to this date the regent has done nothing against the agreement with the confederates, but it is too plain that the situation is strained to the last point, and that a final break is inevitable.

Margaret is gathering men-at-arms, and unless the nobles wish to submit to an ignoble servitude, they must take steps of resistance. The one thing that stands seriously in the way of success for the Netherlanders, or of their getting substantial aid from Germany, is the difference between the Augsburg Confession and Calvinism.

This difference Orange, with unwonted optimism, thought might be overcome, and meanwhile hopes that the Lutherans will not "refuse aid to the poor, innocent, down-trodden Christians."

Meantime the affairs of those same Christians, in other parts of the land, were going badly. The people of Valenciennes showed a sturdy determination to hold their own, but Noircarmes was equally

* In another letter, the regent suggests that "something might be done with boats" if the congregations can only be kept outside the walls, to which Orange replies: "et les faire prescer aux bateaux, je ne sçay qui peult cela avoir mis en avant à vostre altèze, pour ce qu'il n'y a nulle apparence ny moien le povoir faire."—Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 284.

sturdy in his efforts to break their will, and in an engagement succeeded in gaining a victory near Lannoy. The number slain in the battle is estimated from four to twenty-six hundred. Whatever the truth, the defeat was a crushing disappointment to the rebels and their sympathisers. January 7th, Orange again wrote to William of Hesse, begging for assistance.* This appeal was sufficiently urgent to induce the German nobles to call a meeting at Dusseldorf to consult on Netherland affairs. Many were afraid to take so open a step, so there was little result from the assembly.†

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 9.

† Among the doubters was Count Nuenar, whose letter to his brother-in-law, John of Nassau, is a typical expression of that class of selfish, anxious citizens who stand timidly aside until the success of an issue is determined. "He is unimportant, it is inconvenient for him to go, he hopes his good brother will not be annoyed," etc., etc.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 15.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE NEW OATH.—THE PRINCE'S DECISION.

1567.

AFTER infinite difficulty, the prince succeeded in establishing in Amsterdam the same comparative order that had been attained elsewhere, and on January 24th, he sent to the regent a copy of his final Accord with the citizens. He had forbidden the dissenters to use the church of the Minorites, but had found himself obliged to permit them to hold their assemblies inside the city, until they could build an auditorium outside the walls in the spring.* He had checked religious excesses, but had planned an outlet for religious zeal, as he considered this the only means of preserving Philip's authority.

Margaret, however, was not at all pleased that any privileges should have been granted. † Rebellion

* Hoofd, iv., 127, 131 *et seq.*

† She wrote to Orange several times to remonstrate at the liberality of the Accord, and at the prince's laxity in regard to his associates. She distrusted Louis of Nassau especially. In answer to one of these letters Orange wrote on January 21st: "As to my brother,

was rebellion, and must be crushed, whether against church or state.

If she, who knew her own lack of power to calm Flemish turbulence, were dissatisfied at the prince's concessions, instead of being pleased that he had gained any order at all, it can readily be imagined that her brother, from his distant point of view, was even a still severer critic. To his thinking, the protesting spirits of the north were a crowd of uneasy, belligerent, irreverent rascals.

Philip's mind never worked quickly. His passion boiled, but no tangible purpose emerged from the steam. Finally, however, he determined to exact a new oath of allegiance from every royal functionary, officer, and servant in his Netherland service. Whoever refused this test should be considered a traitor.

In December, 1566, Margaret had received orders to administer this new oath to all the troops in the provinces. Accordingly, in January, she directed the prince to give the oath to his own troops.* He replied rather nonchalantly that he was unable to fulfil her commands, as his company had already set out for Brussels.† The duchess could easily order someone else to put them to the required test, when they arrived in the capital.

The time did not seem to him quite ripe for de-

Madame, it is true he does not deny professing another religion than ours, because he was so brought up. But it can hardly be considered strange that in spite of that I keep him with me, since from the time of the sainted Emperor Charles, I have always had German gentlemen of different faith in my household."—Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 337.

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 332.

† *Ibid.*, 344.

claring his real opinion of this new regulation.* He made no effort to restrain his men from obeying Philip's behest, but he declined to give his countenance to the measure by acting as intermediary.

After the accord was finally signed at Amsterdam and all was done that seemed within his immediate power to do, Orange set off for Antwerp, where affairs were again in a state to require a far stronger hand than that of Hoogstraaten. He stopped on his way at Breda, where Counts Horn, Nuenar, Hoogstraaten, Brederode, and several other confederates were awaiting his arrival.†

Margaret could not see the smallest assembly of nobles with unconcern, and wrote to the prince that this meeting must not take place, but her letter arrived too late to prevent it.‡ The nobles were full of indignation at Philip's scheme. It was unprecedented to demand an oath in the middle of a reign, when all the required forms of swearing fidelity to the sovereign had been properly fulfilled at the beginning.§

Brederode proposed a new petition to the government, which the prince apparently neither approved nor hindered. At this date he seemed to have no objection to trying any medicine recommended for the diseased body politic, himself thinking the case hopeless.

He maintained a close correspondence with Ger-

* The issue with the officers was not forced at once.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 349.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii., xcvii., 404, 405.

§ "An oath wherein they should swear to obey, without exception, any that should be appointed in the king's name."—Strada, vi., 11.

many, and in reply to one of his letters, Augustus of Saxony wrote a wordy epistle.* He said that no one could advise the prince as well as the prince himself, but it would really be a capital plan if he were to profess the Augsburg Confession publicly, avoid all sects of Anabaptists, or sacrament enthusiasts, and remain *perfectly obedient* to the King of Spain, lest he might jeopardise his estates!

This was comforting and valuable advice. When the regent contemptuously refused Brederode's request to present a new petition, Orange was probably neither surprised nor disappointed, but he was not in the least influenced by her disapproval of the would-be petitioners, as he entered Antwerp, February 4th, accompanied by the great Beggar.† The two men were, as Margaret piteously wrote to Philip, greeted by the sectarians with loud shouts of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" and were escorted to their respective lodgings.‡ "Since then," continued the regent, "Brederode wrote me asking for safe conduct for himself and other confederates, to come to present one of their petitions, which I refused, and said I could not suffer any more of their assemblies."

It was indeed a time to try the soul of the regent. She began to distrust the intentions of the man who had been more potent than any one else in bringing about even an appearance of peace in the towns,

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 32.

† Groen (iii., 31) gives 5th, but in Justification of the Antwerp magistrate it is 4th (Gachard, ii., xcviii.).

‡ Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 404.

rent by the turbulent emotions of the differing sects. What availed the exertions of the prince to establish peace when he consorted with Brederode, who was openly making levies, not in the service of the king?

February 21st, the prince wrote another of his long German letters to William of Hesse, describing in full Margaret's efforts to root out Protestantism, dwelling, and perhaps pardonably, especially on the suffering of those of the Augsburg Confession.* There was no hope from the regent. Meghen was entirely papist, and at this crisis it was he who dominated the duchess. He was causing ruin in Brabant just as Aremberg was in Friesland, both planning to oppress the poor Christians under pretence of protecting religion. Orange added that Louis would manage to see the young landgrave and tell him more.

A letter from Hesse, of the same date, crossed this epistle.† He suggests that the German princes might send a deputation to Margaret to remonstrate, but he cautions Orange to beware of the Spaniards. The old landgrave, Philip, was in a dying condition and unable to write himself, but through his son he urges the prince to be on his guard, and surely there was no one in Europe who could speak more feelingly on the subject.‡

Early in March Margaret wrote to Orange, reminding him that the time had come for all good

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 36.

† *Ibid.*, iii., 40.

‡ Philip died March 31st. The Swiss reformer, Zwingli, said he was the only person who put his hand to the plough and never turned back.

vassals of Spain to come forward openly and show themselves as such.* Philip has repeated his orders that every man in his service, without any exception whatsoever, should now renew his oath of fealty. The regent assumes as a foregone conclusion that the prince will have no hesitation at acceding to her request. No loyal man could refuse his signature to a mere reiteration of existing circumstances. That was her point of view—apparently such a simple one! She enclosed the following formula:

NEW OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.†

"As the king, our sire, in consideration of the troublous times and of the rebellious spirit that is abroad in the land, has charged Madame, the Duchess of Parma, Regent, and Governor-General of these lands in his Majesty's behalf, to demand a declaration from every one, especially from every person in office, as to his intention to carry out his Majesty's will without limitation or restriction, I, William of Nassau, Knight of the Order, Governor and Captain-General of Burgundy, Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, and captain of fifty men-at-arms, having received the said command, now declare by oath that I am ready to serve him and to carry out his orders in regard to all persons without limitation or restriction.

"Witness this signature of my hand. Done in Antwerp the —— day of March, 1566.‡ I [signature], William of Nassau, have signed this in lieu of my oath."

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 43.

† *Ibid.*, iii., 45.

‡ Old style.

To this demand, the prince replied,* on the same day, as follows:

"MADAME: As you desire me to take a new oath, according to a prescribed form you send me, I must at once advise your Highness that though I am devoted heart and soul to his Majesty's service, as evinced by my whole career, I find great difficulty in consenting to this. If I swear fealty again, it might appear that I had neglected, or foresworn my previous vows.

"The form of this new oath, too, is somewhat strange, and seems to imply that I either meditate excusing myself from loyal exertions in the king's service, or that I am to receive orders that I could not conscientiously execute, as I have also sworn to protect the privileges of the provinces.

"As his Majesty now writes that all officers and servants, with no exception, must subscribe to this oath, or be discharged from his service, I must consider myself of the latter number, and will retire for a time, until his Majesty comes to these provinces himself, to obtain a true judgment of affairs. . . .

"Therefore, I pray your Highness, send some gentleman to me with proper papers of dismissal, to whom I may deliver my commission, assuring you at the same time that I will never fail in my service to his Majesty and the good of this land."

Now Margaret had been writing almost daily letters to her brother, recounting the rumours afloat concerning the prince, and breathing distrust in every line she penned. But she was thrown into conster-

* Freely rendered and condensed; the prince was unnecessarily wordy in his letters.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 46.

nation at this definite refusal to comply with her demand. * In spite of her distrust, she was perfectly aware how useful the prince had been to her, and of the fact that no other man had like influence over the people, and she was thoroughly frightened at the idea of an open withdrawal of his co-operation.

The regent answered Orange that it was not within her province to accept his resignation, since she had not conferred the offices he exercised, but she would advise the king. † Meanwhile she hoped he would exercise his governments in a way that he could answer to God and to his sovereign and in accordance with his first oath. All the measures she had enacted in the lands under his government had not been intended to curb his authority, but to second it.

Shortly afterwards, she sent her confidential secretary Berty, to have a personal interview with Orange.‡ There was no result from their long discussion. Orange could not and would not take an oath he considered futile, if its import were only what appeared on the surface, and dangerous if more were implied than met the eye. Accordingly he persisted in his resignation of the offices he held under the Spanish king.

When Orange had returned to Antwerp,§ on Feb. 4th, the condition of things was as follows: During his absence, Hoogstraaten had administered the

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 48.

† Strada, vi., 12.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, iii., 48. Strada, vi., 12 *et seq.*

§ Hoofd, iv., 131 *et seq.*

municipal government, with a fair amount of judgment and vigour. In October there had been one incipient revolt, which he suppressed with a strong hand, hanging six of the culprits, while he punished others severely.

The Lutherans and Calvinists really had more freedom in the exercise of their religion than the Catholics, who did not easily recover from the dreadful shock of the August events. The two reformed sects showed more toleration for each other than ever before; both celebrated the communion in November unmolested, and both repudiated with scorn a large bribe, offered to them secretly, to renounce their liberty of conscience.

On January 25th, Margaret ordered the publication of three placards*: (1) a copy of that issued against Valenciennes; (2) a prohibition of all levies; and (3) an order to expel alien preachers from the country. She then looked to the prince's coming to put an end to the preaching. On his arrival, the latter consented to make the attempt if Hoogstraaten would help him.

That gentleman, however, excused himself on the ground that the prince's return put an end to his commission, but he finally consented to act as coadjutor.

After several conferences with the reformers, the prince, count, and magistrates all recognised the fact that the intra-mural sermons would not cease unless some compensation were given to the sects.

Feb. 17th, they sent a deputation to Margaret

* *Rev. des Pays-Bas*, Th. Juste, ii., 302.

to discuss matters with her.* The regent was positive in her requirements, and these were the articles she insisted on: All preachers and ministers were to depart at once. All sermons and religious services must be discontinued. Catholic rites must be re-established; the building of the new temples must cease; all citizens must obey the king, and conform to his commands. No vagabonds or fugitives should be tolerated within the towns; the authority of justice should be exercised, and all men-at-arms in the pay of the commune should swear obedience to the king. If these points were complied with, the regent promised the Antwerp citizens that they should not be punished for past acts, unless the king, by the advice of the nobles, councils, and states should order otherwise.

She did not comprise in this amnesty any person guilty of treason, image-breaking, conspiracy against his Majesty, etc. And finally, she declared that the promises contained in these articles were subordinated to the king's pleasure.

These articles meant the renunciation of every point for which the reformers had been striving. On Feb. 27th, delegates of the sectaries appeared before the prince and asked whether no regard were to be paid to the treaty of the previous year. The answer was that there was no question of either maintaining or breaking contracts. Their present duty was to get the co-operation of those whom they represented, to execute the king's orders.†

* Th. Juste, *Rev. des Pays-Bas*, ii., 303.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 304.

This response increased the popular excitement, and on March 2d, more than 2000 people collected before the prince's door and demanded a pledge that coercion should not be used to stop the sermons, but they scattered without disturbance.

The nobles held almost daily conferences. It was evident to all that the time had arrived for decisive action, and it remained for them to determine what they would do if put to the test. Orange, Brederode, Nuenar, and Hoogstraaten all wrote to Egmont begging him to form a defensive alliance with them to protect the native privileges of the land. They offered to make one more appeal to Philip, and in case he refused to listen to their representations, they proposed to take matters into their own hands, espouse the cause of the people, and prepare to oppose unjust governmental measures.

Poor Egmont was a royalist to the backbone.* He was one from inheritance, from tradition, from his career as a victorious general of his master's troops. He did not like the course pursued by the king, nor were Philip's orders to his taste, but to turn into a rebel to that monarch was something he could not quite stomach. The aristocrat could not ally himself with the mob, as against his sovereign, the Catholic could not identify himself with the protesters against the authority of the Church. Then there was another factor, which made his attitude different from that of Orange. All his property and interests were on Netherland soil. Orange, to be sure, had renounced his right to his paternal acres,

* See Strada, 6–15 *et seq.*

when he succeeded to his uncle's rich estate, but the Nassaus were so clannish and loyal to each other, that he was sure of a refuge under his ancestral roof, and of affectionate support from his brothers, with as substantial aid as their every effort could effect.

Egmont had rendered services to Philip that were notorious throughout Europe. The patient efforts of a statesman to restore order in revolted districts, might be ignored in the face of the world, but Egmont could not believe that the conqueror of Gravelines and St. Quentin, who had cast such lustre on the opening years of Philip's reign, could be misjudged by his sovereign. He answered the four nobles that he could not ally himself with them, he thought it would be better to stop the sermons, and humbly ask the king not to send an army to the Netherlands. He subscribed to the new oath of allegiance, and refused pertinaciously all invitations to further interviews.

He begged his friends to be loyal, and as for him, if the poor land were handed over bodily to the Spaniards, he could retire to his estate, or, if he were forced to it, he would emigrate, but he could not believe things would come to such a pass.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE BATTLE OF OSTRAWELL.

### 1567.

THE confederates now began to take more open measures for resistance.* Antony van Bomberger made levies in the north, and in the neighbourhood of Bois le Duc.† Orange issued a formal prohibition of further enlistments, but he could scarcely have been ignorant of the fact that the order was not obeyed.‡

Troops were enrolled under a young and enthusiastic leader, scarcely bearded, John Marnix, seignior of Tholouse, brother of St. Aldegonde.§ Both leader and troops were nearly as untrained and unskilled as John Brown and his followers, but they were filled with enthusiasm for their cause. They embarked in the north and sailed along the coast to Walcheren, where they expected to be received by

* Pontus Payen, i., 290 *et seq.*

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 61 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 48 *et seq.*

§ See Gachard, ii., 341 ; Renon de France, ii., 266 ; Hoofd, iv., 132 *et seq.* ; Wagenaar, vi., 399.

their fellow Protestants. Disappointed in that hope, they advanced up the Scheldt as far as the little village of Ostrawell, at the very door of Antwerp.

Orange was still in that city, still exercising authority as Philip's lieutenant, but it was not he who took the first steps to crush this open rebellion.

On the approach of the insurgents, Egmont gathered a few hundred Walloons and offered to throw himself at once into the Isle of Walcheren to meet the attack. Margaret, however, preferred to trust Philip de Lannoy, seignior de Beauvoir, with half her own bodyguard, who were increased by four hundred of Egmont's Walloons. It was a picked force, and of course poor young Marnix had no chance against them. On March 12th, de Beauvoir met his soldiers, who had come in small parties to avoid suspicion, at the Abbey of St. Bernard,* and gave orders that they should quickly and silently advance. A few minutes only brought them within sight of Ostrawell. Tholouse, to use Pontus Payen's words, was as much taken by surprise as if the army had emerged from the bowels of the earth. He thought at first that the coming soldiers were auxiliaries promised by Brederode, and he only learned his mistake when he saw the cross on their banners. His men were, however, quickly drawn up in line of battle, and ordered to be on the defensive only, but they lost patience, fired wildly, and exposed themselves imprudently.

The assailants speedily crossed the ditch that lay between the two forces and pressed hotly upon the

* Pontus Payen, i., 298.

rebels, who fell like flies before their attack. Some hundreds took refuge in a farmhouse, but de Beauvoir's men set fire to that, and every man within was burned as though at the stake. Out of the 3000 rebels of different nations hardly one remained, though the victors numbered barely eight hundred men. Poor young Marnix was cut in a hundred pieces, and this first effort of Dutch rebellion was completely crushed.

Pontus Payen quaintly remarks *:

"Such was the end of the said Lord of Tholouse, accomplished in learning and erudition, who had tainted his gentle spirit with the doctrine of Master John Calvin, who proved the cause of his perdition. . . .

"Meanwhile the Antwerp Calvinists, seeing from their ramparts the fire of Ostrawell, and Beauvoir's ungracious handling of the poor Tholousians, burned with impatience to join in the action. They hastened to the market-place, commonly called Place de Meir, where from thirteen to fifteen hundred men were soon assembled; some were armed with picks, iron mallets, and old weapons, others with *pertisannes*,† half picks and two-handed swords. To these were added another body of mutineers, about four thousand strong, equipped in the same manner. . . .

"The Prince of Orange, astonished at this sudden move, called together the eight companies of Catholic soldiers and reputable citizens whom he had enrolled the previous September. He arranged them in the town hall, and in places adjoining the market, to hold in

* Pontus Payen, i., 303.

† *Ibid.*, i., p. 303 *et seq.*

check those mutinous reformers, who had conspired to pillage the city. Then, accompanied by Hoogstraaten and von Straalen, Burgomaster of Antwerp, he went to the Place de Meir to find out what the crowd was demanding.*

"They were all greeted with insults, while Orange was called 'foul traitor,' 'soldier of the pope,' and 'minister of Anti-Christ,' pleasant little epithets that the Huguenots were in the habit of bestowing on their enemies. Then they began crying like mad, that they wanted to get out to avenge the deaths of their Christian brethren, whom the papists had cruelly massacred, and imperiously commanded the prince to open the gates, or they would break them down.† As he delayed longer than they liked, they hurried to the nearest gates, forced them open with mallet blows, and started to carry out their design, disregarding the prince's warning, that they were not in trim to battle with trained warriors, and that Tholouse and his troops, whom they had seen destroyed before their very eyes, ought to serve as a warning. Finally, seeing that his advice availed nothing, the prince again turned his bridle toward the Place de Meir.

"Now it must be understood that before the defeat of the seignior of Tholouse, Beauvoir had been warned that the Antwerp sectaries were gathering in force to

* Burgon, ii., 204, letter of Sir T. Gresham. According to another account, and this of an eye-witness, an Englishman living in Antwerp, when Orange and Hoogstraaten appeared, they were greeted with taunts and shouts of derision and even menaces. One draper pointed his arquebus at the prince's breast, exclaiming that he was a traitor, dead to honour and faith. He was the author of all this game, and the cause of their brothers' massacre at Ostrawell. Pontus Payen, who casts continual slurs on Orange's personal courage, while admitting his cleverness, does not mention this incident.

† Pontus Payen, 304 *et seq.*, *literal.*

attack him, which he could easily believe, as he heard a great noise in the city, proceeding from a mob who shouted 'To arms!' He therefore rallied his scattered men by tap of drum, so as not to be surprised in disorder, commanded the execution of all the prisoners, who numbered about three hundred, fearing that they might play him a trick during the mêlée. This was done as soon as said—certainly a very inhuman deed, but perhaps a military necessity at that juncture. This accomplished, he marched in good order to the city, determined to punish well those evangelical mutineers who were so keen to avenge their comrades' death. . . . When, however, they saw Beauvoir with his victorious troops at the bottom of the moat, urging them to combat, and filling the air with the martial sound of trumpets and tambours, their anger was quickly appeased, and they went meekly back to the Place de Meir, following the advice of the Prince of Orange, which they had just so proudly rejected. Beauvoir remained some time in line of battle, waiting for them, and when he saw that they had not the slightest desire to answer his challenge, he planted the standards of the unfortunate Tholouse on the edge of the moat as a mockery, left them there for some time, and then set out for Brussels with his soldiers, covered with glory and laden with spoil. It seemed as though the Calvinists would burst with spite, swearing meanwhile that the Antwerp papists should not laugh long over their misfortunes. The crowd spent the night in arms on the Place de Meir, crying incessantly 'Vivent les Gueux!' and early the next morning they dragged seventeen pieces of artillery out of the arsenal, in defiance of the magistrates, and then, like people out of their senses, they went from church to church, and monastery to monastery, pillaging

and spoiling all that they found, and not content with pillage alone, they abused the priests and ecclesiastics, especially the Minorites, who were in ill favour, more than all others. This done they prepared to pillage the richest dwellings, chasing out all not of their creed, and reducing the city to their power.

"They hated the Lutherans even more than the Catholics, calling them contemptuously 'demi-papists,' 'worse than papists,' and would not hear a word in favour of the poor Anabaptists, although they were children of the devil as well as they.

"Apparently they would have succeeded in their pernicious designs, if the Prince of Orange, by his prudence and care, had not prevented it. He, hating the sanguinary nature of the Calvinists, determined to meet their audacity with a strong hand. Accordingly he took the principal Spanish, Italian, English, and German merchants into his confidence, as well as the deans of every guild who were not among the seditious.

"Then he collected the Catholics and Lutherans in arms, persuading them to form an alliance, and to use joint exertions to check the excesses of those sectaries, who seemed born to trouble the world and put everything in disorder and confusion. The Lutherans consented most willingly. Indeed they had often before proposed such a league to the Catholics, with whom they had lived in good will during the troubles. The said alliance made, the prince ordered the great bell rung, and the Catholics and Lutherans collected in another market-place, quite close to the Place de Meir. They were all gentlemen, rich merchants, and reputable citizens, while the others were mere riff-raff—for the most part strangers, exiles, bankrupts, and broken-down people, led by a miserable gallows-bird named Herman.

"It is true there were in the city rich merchants in great numbers, professing the religion of Calvin, but they did not openly mingle with the rebels, though they may have favoured them secretly. The opportunity was offered of purging the city of bad blood, but the Calvinists, recognising the inequality of the contest, sent their preachers to the prince to make terms, offering to submit to his decrees. He agreed to this, and appeased the wrath of the Catholics and Lutherans, who finally consented to accept the treaty that the prince had made with their consistories, and promised to abide by its tenor. So the tumult was stilled without bloodshed, contrary to universal expectation.

"Many praise the prince highly for this act, going so far as to give him credit for having preserved the city from pillage and bloodshed by his presence. They claim he saved the lives of the Catholics, who would have been in the utmost peril had it not been for the timely assistance of the Lutherans.

"As for me [continues the Catholic royalist *], I should be sorry to deny the honour he [the prince] then obtained, but it does seem to me as though the Calvinists had far more cause to be grateful to him than the Catholics and Lutherans, because the compromise he made was for the advantage of the weakest party, who were, moreover, on the point of receiving condign punishment for the thefts, sacrileges, and impieties they had committed."

Such is the story, as told by a Catholic writer almost contemporary, who paints Margaret as a model ruler, with the interests of her Church at heart.

* Pontus Payen, i., 310.

The convention to which the differing sects acceded was as follows * :

The city keys were to remain in the hands of the prince and Hoogstraaten. Citizens and soldiers together were to be responsible for public peace; the citizens nominated captains to be approved by the prince; 1200 burghers were to guard the gates and city divided into districts; the magistrates could not admit within the walls men-at-arms, nor any kind of a garrison, without the consent of the commune; the citizens must take oath to be faithful to the king, city, and people, for the preservation of the privileges, and especially of the Joyful Entry. The articles given above should in no wise affect the contract of 1566, relative to both religions; lastly, all that had been enacted up to date was to be considered as done in the interest of the city. †

The mob refused the first form of this agreement. On the following day fifteen additional articles were added, stipulating, among other points, that the convention of the 27th, should be observed until the king and estates had agreed on the subject of religion; the city keys were to be given immediately to the two governors, who could, if they judged it necessary, after having taken the sentiment of the community, levy 400 horse and place armed vessels in the Scheldt. All the inhabitants without exception should contribute to the expenses incurred for public defence; cannon should be placed on the

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., cxxxviii.

† See Bor., iii., 158.

ramparts, and the governors have control of the artillery; the governors, magistrates, members of the commune, and the two consistories, as well as the captains and soldiers in the city service, must swear to observe and enforce all regulations. March 15th, the Calvinists consented to subscribe to these articles.*

There is no doubt that a frightful carnage, as bad as anything that Paris has ever seen, was avoided by this convention.

It must be remembered that the three sects hated each other with a hatred that they believed justified of God. During the days and nights of March 13th, 14th, and 15th, there were three hostile forces, armed with rude but deadly weapons, within the narrow limits of Antwerp walls. Ill judgment on the part of the only person from whom anything at all could be expected, would have precipitated a wholesale carnage that would have left few subjects for Philip, and scarce indeed a man to tell the tale.

Orange must have deeply regretted the wretched massacre of the poor young scholar and his three thousand men, who were swept out of existence in so

* "Now, Sir, howe the Regent and the court will take this business that the Prince and this towne have done, it is to be doubted, not well; for that I am crediblie informed that the Regent hathe no greate trust in the Prince's doings, and this town. Yet, I will assure your honnor, the Prince verie nobly hathe traveled both night and daie, to kepe this towne from manne slaughter, and from despoile: whiche doubtless had taken place, if he had not been,—to the losse of xx thowsand men: for that I sawe never men so desperate willing to fight: and speciallie the Valloons who joyned all with the Calvinists." —Gresham to Cecil. Burgon, ii., 207.

frightful a manner, but he kept cool and steered his way successfully amidst dangerous shoals.

At ten in the morning of March 15th, the troops enrolled by the city were assembled in the Place de Meir.* Orange, Hoogstraaten, the municipal authorities, and a hundred troopers rode into the square, all wearing red scarfs over their armour, the emblem adopted by those uniting to quell the disturbances. The crowd of Calvinists held off at one end of the Place with an angry aspect. Orange ordered the articles to be read aloud, and then delivered a quiet little speech, showing his hearers that the garrison was under the city authority, and that no amount of obstinacy could gain further concessions, while the fate of Marnix was a warning against pitting weak and untrained volunteers against experienced soldiers. At the close of his harangue he said, "God save the king." A moment's silence and the cry was taken up by the crowd, and the peace was accepted.

It was now nearly two weeks since Margaret had asked, on March 6th, for a renewal of fealty from the prince, and been answered by a definite refusal and resignation of all his appointments.

To be sure he had not been relieved in his office, so that, according to official etiquette, he was still bound to see that that office was administered according to the will of the king.

What he might have done had Marnix been the victor, instead of Beauvoir, cannot be conceived. In the state of things that actually occurred, he cer-

* Pontus Payen, i., 308. See also Burgon, ii., 205.

tainly held his duty to Philip above the fact that he had resigned, and did his utmost, which was at the same time positively the best that could be done.

Though compelled, as Pontus Payen says, to praise the prince for his action, Margaret was nevertheless dissatisfied with the result, and considered that Orange had basely knuckled under to the mob. But her approval or disapproval was a matter of complete indifference to him.

On March 17th, he wrote to some German, probably William of Hesse, an account of those days at Antwerp.*

"The Calvinists had taken possession of the Place de Meir, and fortified all the streets, and would undoubtedly have succeeded in gaining possession of the city keys and the town hall, had not those of the Augsburg Confession, in conjunction with all the other nations,† given their support to us and the authorities, so that through their means we were enabled to maintain the city's honour, and gain the upper hand of the Calvinists, and although this was done with the greatest labour, trouble, and danger to my life and limb, still we may be sure that the service will not gain much thanks at court. God, however, and honest folk will recognise our actions." ‡

He adds more informally in a French postscript, the letter being in German, that he has reason to thank his stars for his fine escape, and really feels

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 50.

† This word is used to designate the foreign merchants.

‡ In writing to a Lutheran, it is the Lutheran side that Orange presents.

that he is born anew. "I do not know any means of getting out of here, but must trust to the grace of God and friendly prayers." *

That it was most necessary to "get out of here" would have been plain to a less far-sighted man than William of Nassau. His resolution had been taken long since. April 9th, he writes to William of Hesse, giving a clear picture of the present state of affairs, and showing how impossible it would be for him to remain after Alva's arrival.

Meanwhile, Margaret, in spite of her dissatisfaction with Orange, endeavoured to keep him in the Netherlands. Berty again brought his eloquence to bear on the prince to little purpose. Orange entirely refused to withdraw his resignation, but at last consented to have one more interview with his late fellow-councillors, Aerschot, Berlaymont, Egmont, and Mansfeld, though he was unwilling to go to Brussels.

Margaret wrote to her brother on April 12th †:

"By my last, I advised your Majesty that the Prince of Orange would not take the required oath, preferring to resign his governments, which are in a state of confusion, as your Majesty will have already learned. . . . I thought it expedient to send my secretary Berty to him with ample instructions to desire the said prince to communicate with some of the nobles, that is to say, the Prince of Gaure [Egmont] and the Count of Mansfeld (the Duke of Aerschot, who was also to be of the number, could not go, on account of indisposition).

* Je ne scay aucun moyen de pouvoir sortir d'icy.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 416.

They met with the said Berty at Willebroek, on the canal the other side of Mechlin, where the prince also appeared. All that passed there I have had put in writing, which I enclose for the further information of your Highness, if he be inclined to read it. The sum of all is, that the said prince considers himself released, or at least suspended (until he has further commands from your Majesty) from all the governments, estates, and charges which he received either from your Majesty, or from me; wishing to retire first to Breda, and then to Germany, offering to remain always a humble and affectionate vassal of your Majesty, *which, however, I do not believe.* He has also written me a letter since the interview of the nobles, to which I have given the answer herein enclosed. He has also written me other letters, . . . to which I have not cared to reply. It was better to put an end to it all."

The enclosures mentioned by Margaret no longer exist, so there is no authentic account of this interview, the last that ever took place between Orange and Egmont.

As Berty was present, to make a *procès verbal* of all that passed, it is improbable that anything very confidential was said. Hoofd, an historian who loves to decorate his pages with picturesque details, relates a story told by a Calvinist, who managed to hide in the chimney of the audience room.* When all had been said on both sides, the count persisting in casting his fortunes in with the land, and the prince firmly adhering to his intention of shaking Netherland dust from his feet, the former said, "Farewell,

* Hoofd, iv., 142.

prince without estates," and Orange answered, "Farewell, count without a head,"—whereupon they embraced and parted. *

This story is, of course, without foundation. Other historians agree, however, that they embraced and parted sadly. Surely, never did a traitor—and from the Spanish point of view, such was Orange undoubtedly—leave the land which he had resolved to free from a tyrant's hand, with a deliberation equal to that of William of Nassau.

The nobles separated that same day after dinner, and Orange returned to Antwerp to make his final preparations for quitting the provinces, not daring to set his foot in the Brabantine capital.

April 10th, he wrote to Philip. † We only have the Spanish version, as found in the Archives of Salamanca. It is somewhat verbose, but is sturdy, dignified, and plain. He did not like the service, and officer of Philip would he be no more. There could not have been a more honourable transition from loyalty to rebellion. ‡

The latest Belgian historian, Baron de Lettenhove, who has made laborious researches among six-

* Pontus Payen gives the prince's farewell as follows, "My cousin, the Spaniards will enter the Netherlands if you please, but I assure you, your head will serve as a bridge." But Pontus Payen's inaccuracy is shown by the fact that he mixes up the interview of Termonde with this of Willebroek. Strada gives this story, vi., 14.

† Gachard, ii., 360. The letter is given entire at the end of this volume.

‡ In 1566, Orange had written letters to Philip, April 20th, May 27th, and June 14th. Unfortunately they have not been preserved. The substance was, that as he was sure that the placards could not be executed, he wished to be released from his governments, especially as he felt that he did not possess the king's confidence.

teenth-century records and archives during the last ten years, characterises Orange's departure from the land of his adoption as an ignoble, cowardly flight.* From the most prejudiced point of view possible, and M. de Lettenhove is an ardent Catholic, this still seems to me an absolutely unfounded statement. Orange makes mention after mention of his intention, and events had tended naturally to the one end—departure. His reiterated protestations of fidelity and affection seem unnecessarily fervent under the circumstances. But epistolary style must be taken into account, and such flourishes of devotion meant no more, and were acknowledged to mean no more, than the phrase of "Dear Mr. Smith" in a business note.

The day after writing to Philip, Orange left his governments vacant, and departed from Antwerp for Breda.†

Just what happened there during the following eleven days is not recorded, to my great regret. From von Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, and Bakhuizen's pamphlet, the details of one complication that met the prince can be at least outlined. Like many another man, whose reasons for leaving his country are less important, the prince was obliged to meet disagreeable opposition from his wife.

Anne's small, mean, selfish nature and twisted intellect made it quite impossible for her to understand her husband's relations with his sovereign.

She was a Protestant, to be sure, but as a wife she

* *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, i., 464.

†Count de Bossu was appointed Governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht in his stead.

thought it entirely unnecessary for her husband to espouse the cause of insignificant people, to the extent of being obliged to abandon his position of rank and power, leave his private property in jeopardy, and take refuge with a younger brother in a remote, isolated German castle, far removed from all the comforts obtainable in Brabant. Things would be all right if he would but use a little diplomacy, but to be torn out of her home so, was unbearable. Nothing is more absurd than the suggestion that Anne instigated this migration, or had aided any scheme of rebellion by her own negotiations with the confederates at Spa or elsewhere. Anne could mar, but not make, and her remonstrance was like the snarling of a chained cur or the buzzing of a disagreeable insect.

From Breda, Orange wrote farewell letters to Egmont and Horn in Latin.* Whether he chose that language to give a more formal and permanent character to the documents, I do not know, but it seemed a strange, stiff medium of communication between men wont to daily and familiar intercourse.

To Egmont the prince repeated his resolution, which he reminds him was taken long ago. The required oath made it impossible for him to stay in the land, where his refusal separated him from all his peers. He furthermore expressed the deepest affection for Egmont, and repeated the statement that he did not cease to be Philip's faithful vassal. †

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 69–71.

† "Paratus ad omne obsequium quod illæsa conscientia præstare possum."

PHILIPS VAN MOMMORANCY, GRAAF VAN HOORNE.
Dus maakt men Hoornes Graef, den Admiraal der zee,
Die uit medoogentheit de tyrannij bestreê,
En tweedeen toonde, twen men weerk en vrijheit zagh groeten,
Dat was zijn misdaad, die hij met den hals most boeten.
G Brandt

PHILIP MONTMORENCY, COUNT OF HORN.

The letter to Horn is freer in tone, and the expressions about the wrongs committed by Philip are more energetic. He adds that the government was accustoming the country to panniers, so that it might the more patiently accept saddle and bridle. He was not strong enough for any greater burden than his back already bore, nor was Spanish honey to his taste.*

April 22d, the prince set out from Breda, and made the first stage of the journey to Grave, thence to Cleves and to Dillenburg.†

Whether he was really attended but by a single servant we have only Noircarmes' unattested statement to show, but Anne and the household joined him at Cleves, whither many sympathisers, certainly, followed him speedily.

Margaret,‡ indeed, was informed that a third of the inhabitants of Bois-le-Duc went to Cleves, and a certain John de Mepsdre wrote to Aremberg May 5th: "A crowd of Brabantines and Walloons

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 72.

† Pontus Payen, i., 337–367; Hoofd, v., 134; van Meteren, i., 407.

Noircarmes wrote April 23d: "The Taciturn, not feeling safe at Breda, left with great precipitation yesterday, followed by a single lackey." (Brussels Archives, *Lettres Missives*, ii., p. 311.) Lettenhove quotes this letter to support his statement that Orange's departure was a cowardly flight. From the moment of leaving Antwerp, Orange was openly and avowedly making his preparations to leave, as is shown in many letters. Besides the two above mentioned to Egmont and Horn, he wrote still more fully to de Berghes, who was never to leave the Spanish peninsula alive.—Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, i., 463.

‡ Gachard, ii., clxiii.; *Rev. des Pays-Bas*, Juste, ii., 340.

passed along by Delfsyle to Emden, poor and rich, women and children."

Aremberg wrote to Margaret, June 9th: "Madame, I am told that the chief iconoclast and disturber of public peace, with crowds of Brabantines, Hollanders, and others, are fleeing to Emden daily"; and Bossu was informed a month later that "Emden is crammed full of fugitives, and in one baker's house alone there are thirty, and new ones are coming daily."

It is rather strange that in his departure, which may have been hurried at the last, but certainly was long enough premeditated for him to have made all the most important arrangements, the prince should have left his son and heir still a student at Louvain. His presence there may have been considered desirable for the protection of the Netherlands estates. Then, too, Orange may have wished to show some confidence in Philip, in case matters mended, especially as he undoubtedly trusted to the sanctuary of the neutral ground of the university.

He was more careful of his thirteen-year-old daughter, maid of honour to Margaret, as is shown by the following note from the regent.*

"My Cousin: I have received your letter of the 22d instant in which you communicate your final resolution to take this German journey that you planned for private affairs, and in which you also offer to remain the faithful and affectionate vassal of the king, my lord. I do not doubt this offer is sincere, as I know your great

* Gachard, *Cor.*, ii., 371.

and good qualities, and you know too that you have to do with a prince who has always borne you love and good-will. *In re* the generous offers you make, I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and will not fail to aid you in all that I can. I have always loved you like a son, and shall continue to do so. *In re* Mlle. of Orange, I have cherished and loved her like my own child, as I believe you know. But as you say, Madame, your mother wishes to see her before her death, that is reason enough why she should go to salute her. When she desires to return to me, she will find my affection undiminished. Also during your absence, I will treat your servitors and officers as if you were here, and bear no less good will to your affairs than I have hitherto. Whereupon I pray the Creator to give you good counsel, a pleasant journey, and all happiness.

"From Antwerp, the last of April, 1567."

Thus ended the second chapter of William's life. Young as he was, having completed his thirty-fourth year on the day after leaving Breda, his second apprenticeship as peaceable statesman was finished, and he now stood entirely on his own footing, with family, friends, and country all looking to him for a reconstructive policy, that entailed upon him far greater burdens of responsibility than obedience to the orders of a distant monarch.

# CHAPTER XV.

## A REFUGEE.

1567.

JOHN OF NASSAU was certainly one of the most generous-minded of younger brothers that history has known. It will be remembered that, when William received his cousin's estates, he had ceded all claims to the paternal heritage, reserving only a lien on the old castle of Nassau, and possibly on Dillenburg for the sake of the titles. Thus legally he had no right of government in the county and no revenues accruing to him. It was a patriarchal household that was gathered under the roof-tree of the castle by the Dill. John had married Elizabeth, Landgravine of Lautenberg, and had a number of children. The dowager, Juliana of Stolberg, with her unmarried daughters, remained in her son's family, and received from one and all, honour and reverence. Louis, Adolph, and Henry, all had the freedom of the house, besides their legal share in it. The married sisters and their husbands, Schwarz-

burg, Nuenar, and the rest, claimed kindred there and had their claims allowed.*

To this agglomerate family circle arrived the Prince of Orange, with about a hundred and fifty in his party, and Anne, no easy member of a household when she was the head and first person for consideration, and certainly not an agreeable visitor under the present untoward circumstances. During her stay in the Netherlands, she had roundly abused every person and thing there. "The prince let other people take precedence, he never stood up for his own position," etc., etc. But when the actual proposition came to relinquish this hated land, the matter assumed another aspect in her eyes, and Anne opposed the project violently. She did not, however, actually refuse to follow her husband, and there may have been some special cause for apprehension that frightened her into quitting Breda April 22d; but no sooner was she at Dillenburg than she found her new surroundings more uncongenial than her old. The house was crowded. John's wife did not treat her with respect, and she began to look back longingly upon Netherland ways and manners. Moreover, not only had all the Orange-Nassau property been abandoned in the Netherlands, but hers, too, and she did not cease nagging her husband for permission to go and look after her possessions before they were confiscated.†

* Though John of Nassau was not like Goldsmith's good parson in other respects, it can truly be said of him "the long-remembered beggar was his guest."

† Orange took refuge with his brother, but in 1567 there were other

Then, too, back on German soil the difference between her rank and that of the Nassaus again filled her mind, and she chafed under the narrow circumstances to which the "great elector's" daughter was reduced.

How many days the party spent in reaching Dillenburg does not appear, but, encumbered as they were, they probably could not travel rapidly, and must have been undoubtedly a week or two on the way.

May 11th, Orange wrote to William of Hesse, now the head of his house, to announce his arrival in Germany.* On the 21st, he sent a long detailed letter to the Elector of Saxony, rehearsing his motives for his step, and asking advice.†

The state of affairs in the Netherlands had now reached such a pass, and the imminent coming of Alva was so threatening to the peace of Europe at large, that the German princes began to bestir themselves to see what could be done.‡ It could, however, hardly have been at Orange's instance that the princes dispatched a deputation to Margaret.§ He

asylums opened to him (Groen, iii., 109). In July the King of Denmark invited him to take shelter in his dominions, to which the prince replied that he hoped returning prosperity would soon enable him to show the devotion he felt for the Danish monarch, but if worse came to worse he would gladly accept the offered hospitality.

* Groen, iii., 73. The old landgrave had died March 31st. His last advice to the prince was to make no compromise with, and place no trust in, the Spanish king or Alva. The remembrance of the latter's behaviour towards him at the time of his imprisonment in 1547, rankled in his mind to the day of his death.

† *Ibid.* Both letters mentioned in note.

‡ Groen, *Archives*, iii., 80.

§ Hoofd, iv., 134.

was fully aware of the utter futility of any further parleying, but could only acquiesce in the plan, however much he might disapprove of it. The princes interested were the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Margraves of Brandenburg and Baden, the Duke of Würtemburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse. As the object of the remonstrance was solely to intercede for the Lutherans, a Calvinist like the Elector Palatine took no part in it.

The petitioners found Margaret, however, in no mood to yield anything. The objectionable heretics were no longer as formidable as in the early part of the year, Orange had been forced out of the land, and Egmont was a subdued, faithful vassal, trying his best to believe in the good faith of the king. Valenciennes was peaceful, and there was no cause to show favour to anyone.

The commission were answered euphemistically, told that Philip would only act justly, and they returned as wise as they were before.

June 13th, Orange writes to Hesse, thanking him for his report of this embassy, and saying that they must trust to God and time for any remedy.*

The princes then thought of sending to that good Christian, Catherine de Medici, to see what she would do for the oppressed cause of religion in the Netherlands, and they actually drew up instructions, but the matter seems to have dropped there. †

It was not unnatural that the prince, having been literally forced out of his position as a liberal Catho-

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 98.

† *Ibid.*, iii., 99.

lic, should now begin to consider whether it would not be advisable to modify his own theological opinions. Early in June he wrote to William of Hesse as follows*:

"June 13th.

"We would like, from the bottom of our heart, to occupy ourselves in strengthening our character and conscience, and rendering them more sturdy, by studying the scriptures, during the time that we remain here outside of our Netherland estates. For we, without blazoning the matter, bear a warm affection to Christian zeal, and therefore we would like to have an honest, learned, well-bred, good man, and one used to the world's ways† about us. I have heard of such a one, named Nicholas Zell, of Treszen, in Hesse, etc."

William of Hesse answered that the said Zell was a valuable man, and he would not give him leave of absence for everyone, but if the prince is so interested in religion, he will let him go to Dillenburg for half a year, and exert his best understanding to instruct Orange, by reading, preaching, and companionship.‡

Five days later the landgrave sent to Dillenburg a volume of Melanchthon, entitled *Loci Theologici*, a handbook of pure theology, which he hoped would convince the prince of the justice of the Lutheran tenets.§ Naturally so important a convert was not to

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 100.
† Weltverständigen.
‡ Groen, *Archives*, iii., 100.
§ *Ibid.*, iii., 107.

be neglected, especially at a time when he had leisure to turn to theological matters.

The prince's hegira from the Netherlands had been none too soon. Less than a month after he left Breda, Alva embarked at Carthagena with a picked army, commissioned by Philip to crush once for all the insolent demands of "that beast, the people." All the rumours of the preceding year about Philip's sinister intentions were true, and more than true. The king had not even taken his faithful Netherland viceroy into his confidence.

Almost until the minute of Alva's embarkation with his armed force, the regent was confidently expecting her brother's peaceful arrival, and had even made preparations for receiving him in Zealand.

She was little better pleased than any of her subjects at the prospect of seeing herself superseded, just when she, aided by her lieutenants, had quieted the riotous outbursts in different parts of the land, and had in person triumphantly restored Romish rites in desecrated Antwerp.

When Alva's coming was announced to her, Margaret was still left in ignorance of the sweeping character of his instructions, but the bare fact of the approach of an army filled her with consternation. Knowing, as she now did, the temper of the Flemings, she greatly feared the arrival of foreign troops, and sent couriers to meet Alva in Savoy, begging him to make his entry alone into the Netherlands, leaving his army to await orders.* Naturally this suggestion did not have great weight with the com-

* Hoofd, iv., 148.

mander. He had no doubts as to his ability to insure obedience to Philip. "I have tamed men of iron,* and shall I not be able to tame these men of butter?" he said contemptuously, and he replied to the regent that he had nothing to do but follow the king's commands.

Accordingly, he marched swiftly on to his destination. His twelve thousand men were arranged in three divisions, which kept a day's march apart, the second and third sections using successively the camps made by the first.

In August he arrived in Luxemburg, where he was met by Berlaymont and Noircarmes, who bade him welcome in the regent's name. Count Egmont rode as far as Tirlemont to greet him, and presented him with some fine horses. The count's reception, in spite of the gift, was not very cordial. Alva had never forgiven him the successes at St. Quentin and Gravelines. When he saw the Prince of Gaure, † he said, "There is the great heretic," ‡ speaking so loud that Egmont could hear him. This boded ill for the count, who had staked all on his loyalty. After a moment the duke's manner changed, as though this word had been spoken in jest. He was more cordial, and even put his arm around the count's neck, § the neck he had already dedicated to the block.

* "'Ik heb wel eer volck van ysen ghetemt, en zal ik nu gheen volck van booter kannen temmen?'"—Hoofd, iv., 148.

† This was Egmont's title.

‡ "'Ziet daar,' zeid hy, "'den grooten ketter,' zoo luide dat Egmont het verstaan kon."—Hoofd, iv., 149.

§ "Zynen arm om den hals te slaan, dien hy, in zyn hart den beul tœgeweydt had."—Hoofd, iv., 149.

Before reaching Brussels the new viceroy passed through Louvain, where Philip, Count de Buren, the prince's eldest son, was pursuing his studies.

Henry de Wiltberg, steward to the young count, wrote to Orange that Philip saw the duke pass his lodging, which was in the College of Savoy, and "went to kiss his hand, and we found him with M. d'Aremberg and Berlaymont. M. de Buren was well received and caressed by the duke." *

The boy was completely fascinated by the veteran, who showed him great cordiality, and invited him to another interview on the morrow. When the young count took his leave on the 22d, the duke embraced him, and overwhelmed him with his kindness. Wiltberg added that he had heard that the Prior of St. John, Alva's illegitimate son, wanted a horse, and suggested that this might be an opportune gift for the young Philip to make him.

The duchess had many minds as to how to meet the man whose coming she resented from the bottom of her soul, but finally consented, three days after his arrival, to permit him to pay his respects. She received him in her bedroom, where she remained standing, attended by Berlaymont, Aerschot, and Egmont, none of whom advanced a step to meet the duke. During the interview, which lasted an hour, the whole company remained on their feet, and there was a haughty stiffness on both sides. The duke wrote to Philip that he treated the duchess like a queen, but, as Motley remarks, there was probably an ill-concealed insolence beneath his elaborate Cas-

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 120.

tilian politeness which Margaret found difficult to brook.* After the duke's arrival in Brabant, the Princess of Orange became more and more eager to go back to Breda and look after her possessions which she feared would be taken or absorbed by the Spaniards. After vainly begging Orange to let her go, she wrote to her uncle, the Elector of Saxony, saying that it was unbearable at Dillenburg, and she must get away from the place. She insisted so strongly on this that Orange, despairing of his own arguments, sent a special messenger, one Volbrecht Riedsel, to Dresden, to consult with Augustus on the best course to pursue. The instructions are preserved in the Dresden Archives and are as follows. Anne had continually begged to be allowed to go away from the Netherlands, "because she could not stay any longer with such godless and faithless people." Now she just as urgently wished to go back, although she would imperil not only herself but her unborn child. He forbade her return on account (1) of her approaching confinement; (2) to avoid the suspicion that he or his brothers ill-treated her; (3) on account of religion, as in these rapid journeyings she would have to confess her own belief, or run the risk of being frightened into declaring herself an adherent of the idolatrous religion.

"We have indeed noticed for some time in your niece, not without deep anxiety, an uncertainty in religious matters, and that she cares little for religious things or teachers, and occasionally even talks shamefully of

* Motley, ii., 112.

God's word. Also I must consider that your ward* might, on this very account, be turned from the true knowledge of Christ (although formerly she had such a warm inclination for religion) to popish horrors, or other errors painful to you, and of a kind to make my life wretched, and prove a bad example to many."

Besides the above reasons, the prince added that he could not afford two households.

In answer, Augustus assured the prince that he agreed perfectly with him, and advised his niece to be patient.

September 14th, Maurice was born, and his christening was celebrated with complete Lutheran rites.† He was thus the first of Orange's children to be identified with the Protestant cause.

In this same month of September, all Europe was startled and shocked by the arrest of Egmont and Horn. They walked blindly into danger, notwithstanding many warnings from every side. Even certain Spanish and Italian captains, who had recognised Egmont's worth during the French war, advised him not to tarry in the capital, but "the good gentleman, who was not the most subtle person in the world,"‡ answered that he felt his conscience to be clear, and if he were a hundred leagues from Brussels he would come post-haste to justify himself. Even Seignior de Billy took pains to add his warning and to beg Egmont to shake the dust of Brus-

* It is curious to see how Orange refers to Anne only in her relation to Augustus.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 126.

‡ Pontus Payen, ii., 22. "Qui n'estoit des plus rusez au monde."

sels from his feet. One gentleman, however, possibly Noircarmes, assured the count that it was absurd for him, in view of the very considerable services he had rendered Philip, to have any alarm whatever, and he so completely reassured the uneasy count that he not only stayed himself, but also urged Horn to come in full security to the capital. He likewise induced the return of his secretary, Bakkerzeel, who had followed Orange to Germany.* After all, the time of uncertainty was not long. Alva arrived in Brussels in the last week of August, and events marched rapidly. September 9th, his illegitimate son, the grand prior, entertained Egmont, Horn, Don Frederic of Toledo, Noircarmes, and other gentlemen at a magnificent dinner. Alva sent his own musicians to rejoice the ear of the company, whom he begged to visit him at his lodgings, the Jassy house,† at about three o'clock, to consult on the plans of a citadel he proposed to erect at Antwerp. "Then it was that the grand prior, who above all was in the duke's confidence, whispered in Egmont's ear: 'Seignior Count, get up, take the best horse in your stable, and save yourself quickly.'"‡ Egmont was sufficiently impressed with these words to leave the table, but met three of the company in the next room, to whom he repeated the prior's warning. One of them§ jeered at the idea of his

* Pontus Payen, ii., 27 *et seq.*

† The house is named from its owner, Jean de Coutreau, Seignior de Molembais, de Jauche et d'Assche. It still exists on the corner of rue de Namur and rue de l'Arsenal. Jassy is form given by Motley.

‡ Pontus Payen, ii., 27.

§ This is said to have been Noircarmes, but it seems too black even for him.

having such a bad opinion of Alva, and pointed out that his flight would look as if he meditated treason, and suggested that this was a trap of the prior.

Egmont was influenced by this last word, and went with Horn to the duke's house, and to an upper room where consultations were often held. At 4 P.M. Pietro Urbino, skilled engineer, spread out the plans for the citadel. The duke was present for a time, and then excused himself on account of indisposition, leaving Egmont, Horn, Mansfeld, Don Frederic, the grand prior, and Julian Romero, master of the camp, in consultation with the engineers Pacheco and Urbino.

The discussion lasted until 7 o'clock, and the gentlemen were about to separate, when Sancho d'Avila, captain of the guard, afterwards castellan of Antwerp, told the count to wait a minute, as the duke had something of importance to communicate to him, and after a few moments of indifferent conversation, Avila demanded the count's sword, saying that, to his regret, he must consider him a prisoner.

"How," said Egmont, "you wish to deprive me of the sword that has done so much service to the king?" *

He was immediately surrounded with soldiers, made no attempt at resistance, and was conducted to a neighbouring room hung with black, prepared for the purpose on the previous day.

Horn, meanwhile, was leaving the house when he was arrested in the court by Captain Salinas, who took him to an obscure room, where he was closely

* "'T heeft, zeid hy, zich zoo trouwlyck in's koninx dienst, gequeeten." Hoofd, v., 150.

guarded till September 23d, when the two noble prisoners were taken in closed carriages to the chateau of Ghent. When Granvelle heard of these arrests he said: "What is the use of catching little fish when the big salmon is free?" On the same day Alva also arrested Egmont's private secretary, Bakkerzeel, and Anthony van Straalen, Burgomaster of Antwerp, who had so ably seconded Orange's efforts to pacify the city. The indignation with which this news was everywhere received was intense. Apart from every other consideration of equity, both counts were Knights of the Golden Fleece, and the dearest privilege of that order was attacked by this high-handed measure.

November 26th, Augustus of Saxony wrote a rather ambiguous letter to Orange, in which, without making his advice very positive, the general drift was that it would be better to avoid a complete rupture with Philip.*

November 27th, Orange sent a packet of letters to Louis, begging him to dispatch a special messenger to Denmark, on the affair he knows of. All is now in train for the opening of the conflict. †

In December, the prince writes ‡ to the elector, telling him that Philip has gone to such lengths that armed resistance is not only justifiable but necessary, not only for the Netherlands, but for Germany, and he begs for aid. Of course there could be no more doubt in any one's mind of the propriety of opposing force to force.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 130.

† *Ibid.*, 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, 141.

Shortly after the arrests of Egmont and Horn, Alva established a court, called the Council of Troubles,* which superseded every other tribunal in the land. Its function was to dispose summarily of every case having to do with treason towards the king or dissension from the Church. This court violated in the most flagrant manner all the cherished privileges of the provinces. The conviction of any offence was punished by death, and so swift and sanguinary was the so-called course of justice on the slightest web of evidence, that the Netherlanders, epigrammatic even in their darkest hours, dubbed the tribunal the "Blood Council" (Bloedtraadt).†

The council of state and privy council both fell into desuetude, and the simplified business of ruling the land was conducted entirely by Alva's will, with the assistance of this council for which Philip had given him no documentary authority. As Mr. Motley states it,‡ the council was simply an informal club of which the new viceroy was perpetual president, while all the members were appointed by himself. The two Spanish members of this body, Del Rio and Vargas,—the latter a man of the lowest moral nature,—had a vote. All the others, including even Noircarmes and Berlaymont, consented to serve as mere nonentities. Juan de Vargas, according to

* September 20th. *Notice sur le Conseil des Troubles*, Gachard, p. 7 *et seq.*; Hoofd, v., 151. In October Machiavelli brought letters from Spain giving Philip's permission to Margaret to leave the Netherlands. Strada, vi., 35. Brabant gave her a present of twenty-five thousand guilders. Wagenaar, xxiii., 236.

† Hoofd, v., 151, 152.

‡ Motley, ii., 134.

all accounts, really revelled in his merciless decrees. His Latin was as barbarous as his law. In answer to the remonstrances of the provinces, that they had sacred privileges which no ruler had dared infringe, he said: "Non curamos vestros privilegios," * and proceeded to show that his intentions were fixed if his Latin were shaky. His formula was † "Heretici fraxerunt templa, boni nihili faxerunt contra, ergo debent omnes patibulari." ‡

In order to insure arrests, this council established a force of commissioners whose duty it was to rake the land for culprits, being paid for their services from the confiscation of the prisoners' goods. It may well be imagined that such a tribunal, which laughed to scorn time-honoured traditions and the sacred rights of constitutions, was not nice about its choice of servants, and consequently there was a goodly supply of both accused and accusers.

January 28, 1568, § a soldier, escorted by six trumpeters, entered the square before the palace in Brussels, and read a summons requiring the Prince of Orange to appear before the Council of Troubles within "three fortnights" from the date of proclamation, as chief author, promoter, favourer of the rebels, while his brother and friends, Louis, Hoogstraaten, and the rest were requested to appear as conspirators, promoters of sedition, and disturbers

* Supposably rendered: "We do not care for your privileges."

† Hoofd, v., 152; Motley, ii., 137.

‡ The heretics ruined the temples, the innocent people did nothing against it, ergo they all deserve to be hanged.

§ *Guillaume le Taciturne*, par Theodore Juste, 113.

of the public peace. If they refused this polite invitation they were condemned to perpetual banishment and confiscation of their estates. Orange was accused of being at the root of every movement of the confederates *; when he had gone to Antwerp ostensibly to quell the rebellion, he had simply encouraged heresy and schism, and permitted the dissenters to follow their own lawless desires.

Exactly how this news was received at the castle of Dillenburg does not appear in any private document.

The gentlemen cited, however, did not immediately order their horses to ride back to Brabant.

It was plain to the blindest that the prince had been wise in his foresight, and that if there were to be any aid for the Netherlands, it must come through him. Orange set about preparing a document in answer to Alva's citation, but long before it was ready, another attack was made on him.

On February 13th, Alva sent to Louvain the Seignior de Chassy attended by four officers and twelve archers.†

He presented a letter to young Count de Buren, in the presence of his tutor, inviting him to Spain in the name of his royal godfather Philip. De Chassy assured the youth that his duty was to escort, not arrest him, and that the king desired to have him educated for his service. He could be accompanied by two valets, two pages, a cook, and a bookkeeper.

* He and Egmont were called the *Stokers* of all the troubles in the land.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 119.

Young Philip walked readily into the trap, accepted every proposition with pleasure, accompanied his captors to Antwerp unhesitatingly, enjoyed his stay with Count Lodron, took part in all the festivities in his honour, and embarked from Flushing for the land where he was destined to stay twenty years.* The university protested at this base violation of its privileges, and its remonstrance was answered by Vargas in the same phrase he addressed to the less classic municipalities, "non curamos vestros privilegios."

To my mind, there is no doubt whatever that Philip of Nassau was sacrificed to his father's hope of preserving his Netherland estates, by leaving a representative on the soil. It was certainly a peculiarly rash action for an habitually prudent man, to leave his eldest son within Alva's reach, nearly a month after the publication of the summons to appear before a court whose sentences were all of one tenor.

The German emperor, the Saxon elector, and the Hessian landgrave, all agreed in advising the prince to publish an answer to the accusations of his enemy, now stated so plainly.†

* The side-note in Hoofd regarding this event is: "Philip van Nassauw *sloopte* naar Spanje."

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 170. In February, a prominent, though not very honourable figure disappeared from the ranks of the Netherland nobles. Hoogstraaten, still at Cologne, wrote to the prince that Brederode was dead. He implies that his death is not from the cause his calumniators say, but there is little doubt that it was due to the excesses in which he always indulged so joyously. Picturesque and ineffective, he was one of those rollicking, life-enjoying characters, that take hold of the imagination and are remembered long after many a better man is forgotten.

Accordingly, on April 6th, he issued a "Justification," which, translated into German, Latin, Dutch, English, Spanish, and French, was spread broadcast over Europe. It is curiously like a letter to the *Times*, and indeed seems to belong far more properly to the nineteenth than to the sixteenth century. Covering forty-four pages octavo, it is, though more wordy than strictly necessary, not too verbose to be read.*

A tone of respect is preserved towards Philip, all blame for the troubles being cast on his servants, who, Orange assumed, were acting without Philip's knowledge or sanction. Using Mark Antony's line of argument, he repudiated the charge that Cæsar was ambitious, pointing out that before Philip's departure he had refused to be councillor of state, and had only consented to accept the post at Philip's insistence. Opportunities had abounded for an ambitious man to assert himself, but he had never taken advantage of them. He certainly had opposed Granvelle's influence, because he thought it to the detriment of Philip's authority. Margaret, indeed, had acknowledged that she had understood more of public affairs in three months after the cardinal's departure, than she had during all the previous years of her administration. Later, when she wanted to abandon Brussels and go to Mons, it was only at the instance of the nobles that she consented to stay and save her brother's authority. At that crisis the prince could have seized on the reins of government without difficulty.

* *Apology*, and other documents, published at Brussels, 1858. Ed. A. Lacroix, *Justification*, p. 159 *et seq.*

He had entirely disapproved the rigour of the inquisition and the placards, because he thought them thoroughly impolitic, and also believed that they tended only to excite the reformers to greater tenacity of their opinions, as such had been the effect of religious persecution everywhere. He had never been a confederate, had discountenanced all the excesses of the Beggars, but he had approved their petitions. He had, certainly, always desired the assembly of the states-general—a measure which the late emperor had often considered expedient. In all his efforts to pacify the troubles in his governments, he had followed Margaret's directions, and the few points of action in which he had differed from her, he had supported by arguments that seemed to him all-powerful. At the interview of Termonde, the chief point of discussion had been the reputed letter of Alava. They had immediately communicated the letter to her Highness.

Brederode had a perfect right, from all traditions of seigniory, to fortify his town, and Orange was free to help him without asking any one's consent. He had not assisted in any way in the Zealand enterprise.* His Antwerp measures had been all for expediency, as he knew the strength of the sects. He had refused 55,000 florins offered him by Holland." †

Peroration:

"Now, forgetting all my services, done at my expense, and those of my ancestors, even of those who died at

* This is the one point that does not seem honest.

† *Justification*, p. 203.

HENRY, LORD OF BREDERODE.

the very feet of the emperor, I am, for frivolous and false accusations and reasons, contrary to all law, rights, and usages, not only despoiled of my property, but my honour is insulted, and I am robbed of my child, both dearer to me than life.

"All of which is not only to my prejudice, but to that of his Majesty, as all his promises, obligations, contracts, and oaths, are disregarded, and such extraordinary, exorbitant, and odious things are done, that it is impossible that the results will not be felt some day. We pray God to illumine his Majesty with divine light, and make him understand aright the actions of his good and loyal servitors and subjects, now calumniated, persecuted, and afflicted. So that the world may at last know that all that has happened does not proceed from his Majesty's self, but from the reports, defamations, and calumnies of those who up to now have concealed the truth from him." *

There are several noteworthy things about this document. In a literary sense it is not well written, and certainly is not eloquent, but it is to the point, and reviews what the prince has said in his letters for the past two years. He separates Philip, as far as possible, from the acts that have been committed in his name, and there are few of the superfluous protestations of fidelity to the person of the monarch, which occur in all his earlier letters. But he does not yet throw off allegiance to his sovereign. He blames the royal servants, and the easy credence Philip has given to misrepresentations of men whom he has every reason to trust. For the first time, in

* See also *Lettre à Procureur Gen.*, March 3, 1568. *Doc. Inédits.*

writing to a Catholic, there is no mention whatsoever of "our true and ancient religion."

Those months of quiet in the old Dillenburg castle, the influence of his mother, perhaps too Melanchthon's book, and von Hesse's arguments had had their effect, and Orange finally had renounced the Roman Church rites, which he had observed since his eleventh year.

Religion was not yet a thing he cared much about, but his family did, and the German princes especially, laid great stress upon it. And from these same princes must necessarily come supplies to help the Netherlanders out of their difficulties.

In March, the news of the death of Don Carlos spread over Germany. No one knew the truth, and all sorts of rumours were afloat.

William of Hesse writes to Orange, and asks if he does not think, from the terms of Don Carlos's arrest, that his father meant to accuse him of adherence to Protestantism.* If this be the case, surely they owe him Christian sympathy.† He has heard that Calvinist books were found in the young man's room. This report, and it seems to have gained wide credence, was, of course, well calculated to arouse indignation of the Protestants against Philip, and to induce resistance to his measures. For if he

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 188.

† The real truth about Don Carlos has never been satisfactorily established. In 1862, M. de Moüy made an exhaustive examination of documents, and was convinced that there was no foundation for the story that Don Carlos had Protestant convictions. He considers that the youth was insane, that Philip was forced to confine him, and that his death resulted from natural causes.

could sacrifice his own son what might not be expected from him?

Levies of troops, whose destination was known to be the Netherlands, were now made openly throughout Germany, and funds to defray their expenses were forthcoming from various sources.* Orange gave freely what he had, selling jewels, plate and tapestry. The amount of his personal contribution reached the sum of 50,000 florins.†

His brothers were generous to the best of their means, John raising a considerable sum by mortgage on his estates, and Louis contributing 10,000 florins.

The chief cities of the Netherlands, Antwerp, Flushing, Amsterdam, and others, aided by the Dutch merchants who had fled to England, raised 100,000 crowns, just half the sum which Orange

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* Orange issued commissions to make these levies in his right as Prince of Orange, an independent sovereign of the empire. His principality covered fewer acres than his other estates, but it conferred a dignity that they did not. In these commissions he took the singular ground of asking assistance for Philip against his unworthy servants—"To preserve his Majesty's dominions to him, and to maintain every citizen (be he of the Evangelical or Romish Church) in all liberty of conscience."

Many of the German captains, with their independent bands of mercenaries, had, like George von Holl, known the prince from the days of Philippeville. Perhaps "good chains" had served to strengthen the bonds of friendship in other cases than George von Holl's, and the ranks of this new army swelled.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 207.

† According to Lettenhove, Antwerp merchants offered to advance him double its worth on his plate. He persuaded them to do a little more. Finally the merchants and consistories together promised 300,000 florins, but the prince never received more than 10,000 or 12,000.—See also Hoofd, v., 165.

thought necessary to enable him to place his army in the field. April 17th, the prince writes confidentially to the Landgrave of Hesse * that he is on the point of setting out for Cologne; the rumour of their levies is too much abroad. He has just heard that Alva has gone to the convent of St. Bernard, five miles from Brussels, to spend Easter, and he wishes that another cloister had been chosen.† Orange begs the landgrave to look over the *Justification*, and tell the bearer, Dr. John Meixnern, what he thinks of it. The conclusion is so very characteristic that I give it entire:

"Especially I would ask your Excellency to let me or my councillor know whether he finds anything to criticise in the document concerning the Spaniards, for I am a little afraid that it is too ungracious, and as though too much were said against his Highness of Spain and his queen. Whether your Excellency would perhaps think it more advisable to direct the pamphlet entirely against the Duke of Alva. Also I am not quite sure of that little word 'kriegsrüstung'—war preparation. Is that perhaps too hard and sharp, and likely to be understood as though we meant to undertake a war from wanton pleasure rather than for simple defence?"

The terms of the formula by which the demon of war was summoned made little difference. The proclamation was the signal to let him loose, and he ravaged the Netherlands for nearly eighty years.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 209.

† This hint, according to Meteren, refers to a somewhat audacious plan that Orange had conceived of gaining possession of Alva's person while he was in Easter retirement. The plan failed.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## ARMED RESISTANCE.

### 1568.

IN the spring of 1568, all was ripe for an effort to attack the provinces of the Netherlands from without. The prince planned that three assaults should be made simultaneously on as many points of the frontier; by a force of Huguenot allies under de Cocqueville in Artois, by Hoogstraaten at some place between the Rhine and the Meuse, and by Louis of Nassau near Groningen.* Orange himself intended to wait near Cleves in readiness to lead his reserves where they might tell to the best advantage.

Unfortunately, before the end of April two of these proposed expeditions had failed utterly. The 800 men levied by de Cocqueville were driven into St. Valery by Marshal de Cossé. The men lost heart and urged immediate submission. Their luckless leader gave his life in attempting to bring them to reason, and de Cossé won an easy victory.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 211. See also Hoofd, v., 162 *et seq.*

The troops engaged by Hoogstraaten assembled in the neighbourhood of Juliers, where they were joined by many exiles. Against Orange's advice this whole body laid siege to Roermond, and were utterly routed by the Spaniards near the little village of Dalheim. Out of nearly 1600 men a third were left on the ground.

There was no sympathetic rising in the Netherlands, and Orange sadly retraced his steps to Dillenburg, accompanied by Hoogstraaten. They proceeded with their levies to replace the men lost to no result, but it was a hard task. The Elector Palatine showed the prince some countenance by allowing the Netherland exiles to occupy old monasteries on his territory, but some of Orange's other German friends began to grow seriously alarmed at his actions. "It is not quite the thing to be going so far," they urged.* The emperor, probably influenced by some message from Philip, issued a formal prohibition of the prince's levies. Not content with that he also wrote, May 12th, to the Elector of Saxony begging him to check his nephew-in-law's warlike preparations. He cannot permit openly hostile measures to the king within his jurisdiction, etc., etc.

It was Louis of Nassau † who was the heart and soul of the enterprise. He was not idle an hour, as Brantôme declares. The defeat at Dalheim acted as a spur to his energy, and as nothing draws like

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 215.

† The whole Nassau family spared nothing in their efforts to raise money; John pawned his plate, while Orange sold every jewel he possessed.—Hoofd, v., 161.

enthusiasm, it was to his standard that the mass of roving malcontents flocked. He adopted as a device: "*Nunc aut nunquam, recuperare aut mori.*" * By the first week in May, the count had 3000 foot and 300 horse at his command in the neighbourhood of Groningen.

Alva was not taken unawares, as he had duly commissioned Aremberg, now stadtholder of the northern provinces, to repulse Louis's advance. On April 24th, Louis crossed the borders of Friesland, and surprised Aremberg's castle of Wedde. Thence he advanced to Appingdam on the waters of the Dollart, where he was joined by his younger brother Adolph with a few horsemen. Louis set up his standard at three small places, and joyfully received all the stragglers and adventurers who offered him service. On May 4th, he formally asked the magistrates of Groningen to send a deputation to confer with him, declaring that it was no idle adventure that brought him thither, but a desire to protect the poor Christians of the land, and to drive out the persecutors. If the magistrates would help him, well and good, if not, he must consider them foes to the land and to Philip. He, too, used the fiction of claiming to be fighting in Philip's behalf. The Groningen burghers gave him a small sum of money, not so much out of belief in his enterprise as to buy him off from making an attack on the city.

Aremberg had a picked force of 2500 men, mainly Spaniards, while Count Meghen, with about the same number of men, was ordered to co-operate

* Now or never, to regain or to die.

with him. There seemed slight prospect of success for Louis's miscellaneous troops, collected at hazard and under an untrained leader, in an encounter with these veterans.* By May 20th, the Spaniards encamped at a convent about two miles from Dam,† intending to make an immediate attack on Louis. Meghen took up his position near Wedde with eight companies of foot and 400 horse, hoping that the patriots could be attacked from two sides. When the news of this advance was brought to Louis, he determined to forestall the enemy in the onslaught. His troops, however, thinking the odds were against them, began to clamour for their pay and let the day slip by uselessly. By dint of entreaties Louis succeeded in persuading them to stay by him a few days longer. May 23d, Louis marched his reluctant troops three leagues farther on, and took up his position within the precincts of the monastery of Heiliger Lee.‡ It was the only high ground in the neighbourhood, and was surrounded by vast swamps. These were especially dangerous to those who were ignorant of the land, inasmuch as when peat had been cut out of the bogs, thick brown scum arose on the surface, looking sufficiently like earth to entrap the unwary.§ While Louis and his brother Adolph were sitting at dinner in the convent, a peasant warned them of Aremberg's approach across the narrow causeway which alone connected Heiliger

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 221.
† Strada, vi., 46 *et seq.* English version.
‡ De Thou, v., 445–448.
§ Groen, *Archives*, iii., 220–223.

Lee with firm ground. The patriot troops plucked up their failing courage and made a valiant fight, which resulted in complete defeat for Alva's army, Aremberg himself falling, covered with wounds.

The soldiers reimbursed themselves for their back pay from the booty, joyfully promised to serve longer, and the cause of Netherlands against aliens seemed well launched. It was indeed a famous victory, but in winning it, the Nassau family offered their first human sacrifice to the Spanish monster. Aremberg had met young Adolph of Nassau in an almost hand-to-hand conflict, and had shot him through the body. Strada says that the boy inflicted a mortal wound on Aremberg before he received his death-blow, but that does not seem to be proved. *

Meghen's troops followed close behind Aremberg. As both general and men were totally ignorant of the treacherous peat bogs, the nature of the ground proved Louis's most valuable ally, and many a Spanish veteran, who would have yielded to no man, fell a victim to the "fallacious earth." †

The battle was, however, as disappointing in its results as brilliant in its renown. All that the hard-working, energetic young leader accomplished was to kill from 450 to 1600 Spaniards, break up a veteran army, and hold his ground. In glory this was a great achievement, still, in fact, he had not gained a single city, had no assured funds to appease

* Strada, vii., 47. Zommigen willen dat Arenbergh van de zyne en hy aan Arenbergh's hand storf.—Hoofd, v., 164.

† "Terra fallax" of Tacitus.

his rapacious mercenaries, and his brave young brother was gone forever.

Louis moved his men towards Groningen, and encamped before the city. A memorandum,* sent to his brother in May, described the condition of his forces. He has 24 ensigns of foot fairly well equipped, and 200 horse. His success, and the booty,† have changed the aspect of affairs, and now captains and men-at-arms flock to his camp from all sides. His supply of provisions and ammunition is fairly good. "As for money, it comes in from day to day, but not in great abundance." Louis is unwilling to coin the church bells, unless driven to it, as they are useful for cannon. Verily it is wonderful that anything has come down to us from other times, considering the demands of war.

When the story of Heiliger Lee was reported in Brussels, Alva was furious that his tried veterans should have been routed by untrained men, under an inexperienced stripling. He heaped maledictions on the head of the unfortunate Aremberg, who had paid for his defeat with his life. It was the 26th of May that Meghen wrote to the regent, that he had spoken with the man who helped put Aremberg in his coffin, and Alva took his measures immediately. He resolved to trust no further to subordinates, but to take the field in person and wipe out the insolent rebels completely. But things must be left safe at Brussels, and there must be no chance of important

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 227 *et seq.*

† Among the captured field-pieces were six famous cannon, called *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*.—Hoofd, v., 164.

prisoners being rescued. First he let off his anger in a savage proclamation, dated May 28th, banishing from the land, under pain of death, Orange, Louis, Hoogstraaten, and others.* Then he demolished the Culemburg palace, where the memorable banquet had been celebrated, and erected a pillar on its site, commemorating the horrid conspiracy that had sprung to life in its halls. † Hoogstraaten sent the prince a full account of these transactions, but as it more properly belongs elsewhere than in Orange's story, only an outline is given here.

June 1st, eighteen prisoners of distinction were executed on the Horse Market near the Sablon. June 2d, Count Villars, who had led the action at Dalheim, suffered with three others on the scaffold, and three days later followed the two executions, which alone would have served to cover Alva's administration with infamy, had his hands been clean and his conscience free from all other deeds of darkness. June 3d, Egmont and Horn were brought in closely guarded carriages, from Ghent to Brussels, under an escort of ten companies of infantry and one of cavalry. The two nobles were lodged in separate apartments in the *Broodhuis* on the great square. ‡ "No charters of the land, no liberties of the Order of

* The property of all the condemned and banished nobles was confiscated. According to a memorandum in the Simancas Archives, the revenue of the Prince of Orange was valued at 152,000 florins, that of Egmont at 63,000 florins, Horn's was only estimated at 8500, and Hoogstraaten's at 17,000 florins.—*Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, ii., 130.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 239 *et seq.*

‡ Hoofd, v., 166.

the Fleece, no humble petition, nor intercession of friends and powers, no semblance of worthiness, nor services done, availed them." Egmont's accusation consisted of eighty-eight articles; Horn's, of sixty-three. The prosecution had been carried on from October to June 1st, and an enormous mass of documents had accumulated during that time. June 4th, Alva solemnly declared that he had examined and passed on all this evidence, and pronounced judgment on the prisoners as accomplices of Orange, protectors of the allied nobles, and renegades from the true worship of God. The sentence that he sent to the council had been duly signed by Philip in Spain before the viceroy's departure.* On the 5th, Egmont's wife, a princess of Bavaria, obtained audience of Alva and humbled herself to beg mercy for her husband on her knees. As Hoofd says, Alva had his little joke on her, for he said "she might rest in peace, her husband was to go free on the morrow." †

Scarcely was she out of the house when Alva sent for the Bishop of Ypres, gave him Egmont's sentence, which was, of course, entirely ready when the countess was there, and commissioned him to carry it to the condemned count and prepare him for the fulfilment of the sentence on the morrow. It was a hard task for the bishop, who knew as well as every one else in the Netherlands that Egmont was a

* "Want de zelve [Philip] als Alva herwaarts toogh, had hem vertrouwt koffers vol blancken pampiers, geteeckent met haar' eighen handt, op't onderste; en de Hartogh een deezer blaaden met het vonnis doen vullen."—Hoofd, v., 166.

† En dreef er zyn spot mêe: antwordende, 'zy had zich te vreede te geven, haer man waer am morgen uit te gaen.'—*Ibid.*, 166.

faithful son of that church in whose name so many horrors were being transacted. He fulfilled his commission, and nothing could have been simpler or more honest than Egmont's way of receiving the last message of his ungrateful sovereign, who had often lovingly embraced the neck he condemned to the block. The very simplicity and capacity of being deceived by a fair word, that distinguished his character, had endeared him to the popular mind, and perhaps, too, nothing in his life became him better than the leaving it.

On hearing the bishop's communication, he declared first, that it could not be true. When convinced that there was no doubt of the sentence, he asked if there were no hope of mercy. The bishop could not give him what he did not have. Egmont therefore resigned himself to his fate, and wrote a straightforward, manly letter to Philip. He was still loyal, in spite of the awful injustice that was being done him.

He then cut off his collars and prepared himself for death, asking only as a last favour that he might die before Horn, for whose presence in Brussels he felt somewhat responsible. Hoofd's only words about Horn are: "With no less courage was a like message received by the admiral." *

On the morrow the final scene was acted on the Grande Place of Brussels, little changed in its aspect during these three hundred and twenty-five years. The beautiful town house, with its profuse ornamentation, the decorated guild houses are still there

* Hoofd, v., 167.

and very slightly altered outwardly. But instead of the mass of flowers to be seen there on any fair June morning, a black-draped scaffold met the view of the prisoners, as they were brought forth from the *Broodhuis*. Egmont had wished to speak to the crowd before his death, but the bishop had warned him that probably his voice would only reach as far as Spanish ears could hear. And so it was. Nineteen *vanderas* of Spaniards, veterans among them who had seen Egmont at his brilliant best in winning Philip's victories, were drawn up around the scaffold, and Flemish ears were well beyond the reach of words.

At about 11 A.M. Egmont was escorted the few steps from the *Broodhuis* to the scaffold, by Julian Romero and a few soldiers. His request to remain unbound was respected, when he showed that he had himself prepared his clothes for the last blow.

"He was dressed in a tabard of red damask, over which was a black, short cloak, edged with gold.* On his head was a cap of black velvet, with black and white plumes, and in his hand he held a handkerchief.

"Spelle, the marshal of the court, sat on horseback, with his red rod in hand, little thinking that a like shameful death was in store for him. The executioner stood there hidden. When the count reached the top, he took one or two turns on the platform, letting the wish escape him, that he might only have died in the service of his country and sovereign. Then once more (so buoyant is the hope of life) he asked Julian Romero whether there were no mercy. The captain shook his

* Hoofd, v., 168.

head with a 'No,' as if it were hard, too, for him. Then in anger, rather than in despair, Egmont bit his lips, and throwing aside mantle and tabard, fell on his knees on one of two velvet cushions that were in readiness. The bishop prayed with him, and reaching a silver cross from a little table, gave it to him to kiss, and pronounced his blessing. Then the count rose, threw hat and handkerchief to one side, knelt again on the cushion, drew a little cap over his eyes, nodded to the bishop that he was ready, and crying with folded hands, 'Lord, into thy hands I intrust my soul,' submitted to the headsman's blow, which pierced every heart present as sharply as it did the count's neck."

The French ambassador, looking on from a secret place, said, so it is reported,* that he had there seen a head fall, before which all France had twice bowed. The sorrow and gloom felt by the burghers were unspeakable, and even the Spanish soldiers shed tears.†

"A black cloth was spread over the body and blood. Immediately after came Count Horn, going free, like Egmont, but with black mantle and bare head. Finding himself on the scaffold, he committed his manifold sins to God. Then wishing all present prosperity, he begged the crowd to pray with him. He firmly refused to acknowledge that he had sinned against the king. The collars of his shirt and doublet were then cut off, and without laying aside his mantle he knelt on the cushion, drew a cap over his eyes, and awaited the sword, uttering the same words as Egmont, only in Latin.

* Hoofd, v., 168.

† Morillon wrote to Granvelle that during the execution, Alva shed tears as big as peas.—Groen, Supplement, 81.

"The bodies remained on the scaffold in their coffins, but the heads, placed on stakes, were exposed to view for two hours."

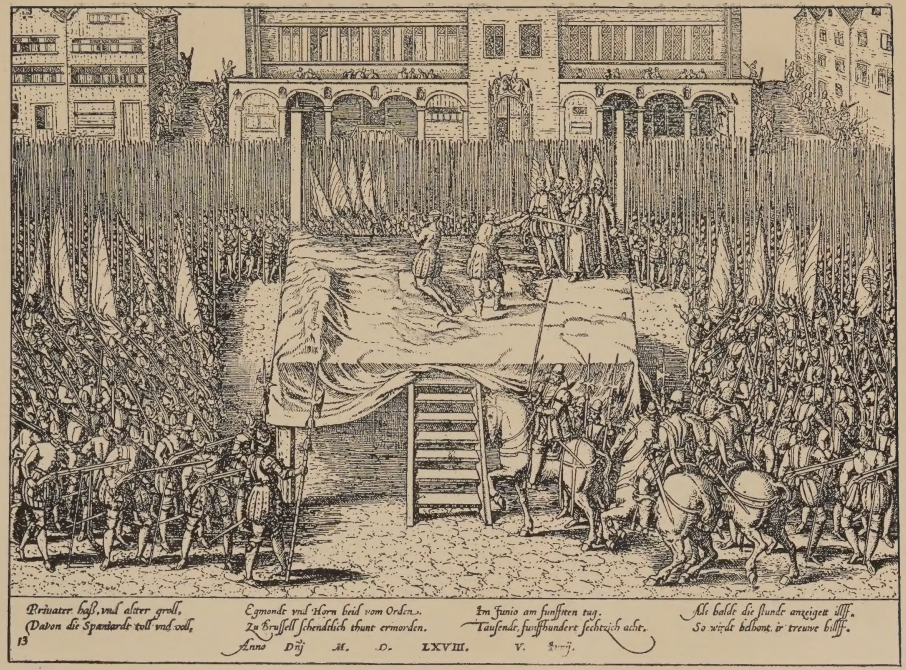
These two executions were sufficient to brand Philip II. as a cruel tyrant, even if he had never committed any other injustice.*

Lamoral of Egmont was the most loyal subject that monarch ever had, besides being a devout Catholic. The only stains on his character were the methods he employed to quell the disturbances in his government, where he unwillingly followed the exact directions of his master. In the nineteenth century, long current opinion has been changed in regard to many historical events, but there has never been any modification in the universal condemnation of those judicial murders of June 6, 1568.

When these executions, together with other less important ones, were accomplished, Alva felt free to turn his attention to the insolent Beggars in the north.

Notwithstanding his untiring spirit and overflowing energy, Louis of Nassau failed to accomplish anything in the two weeks that followed his victory. The booty obtained at Heiliger Lee pacified his soldiers for a little, but, that exhausted, the only revenue for the army's support was what could be levied willy-nilly from the poor dwellers in the land. Louis issued two proclamations, one on June 5th, and one a few days later, declaring that the houses of all who refused aid should straightway be burned.

* The Countess of Egmont was left almost destitute, with three sons and eight daughters. Alva wrote to Philip that it was really pitiable to see her poverty.


Privater haß, vnd elter groll,
Dahon die Spaniardt voll vnd voll,
13
Egmonde vnd Horn beid vom Orden.
Zu Brussell schendtlich thunt ermorden.
Anno Dñi M. D. LXVIII.
Im Junio am fünfften tag.
Tausendt fünffhundert sechtzich achte.
V. 8...j.
Als balde die stunde angeigett ilfft.
So wirdt behont ir treuwe hilfft.

EXECUTION OF COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN, JUNE, 1568.

By means of such threats he obtained small sums from time to time, and finally he accumulated 10,000 florins. The poor people were in hard straits. Alva had already given too much proof of his prowess for them to entertain any hope that Louis, even with their aid, could possibly make headway against him. They knew that Alva was coming to avenge Aremberg, and that they could expect no mercy from him. Their fears were soon strengthened by proclamations that Alva ordered affixed to the church doors, forbidding any contributions to the rebels, under penalty of paying twice as much to the Spaniards. Pleasant position for the Frieslanders!

Naturally Louis's army was very difficult to handle. Hope of booty was small, and it was only by dint of constant personal appeals, inspired by eloquence born of necessity, that the young leader could keep his troops together, and ward off a mutiny.

His force of about 12,000 men* had been divided into three bodies, which he united in his camp before Groningen when the approach of the duke became certain.

July 14th, Alva reached the neighbourhood of Groningen. †

When, accompanied by a few attendants, he had

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* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 265. This number varies in the authorities. Groen says that Louis had but 7000 to 8000 against 17,000 foot and 3000 cavalry, all told.

† Alva had made large levies and the whole force at his command in and about Groningen was 15,000 picked troops, besides an uncertain number of undisciplined soldiers.

personally reconnoitred the situation, he sent five hundred musketeers out of the city, under Robles, to skirmish with the rebels. *

Louis was afraid to accept an engagement of any kind, and decided to fall back towards Germany, hoping to gain some advantage from the swampy ground, which he knew better than the enemy.†

He set fire to bridges as he went, but the Spaniards followed so closely behind that they crossed on the burning timbers. The retreat turned into a hunt, as later in the day, Vitelli joined Robles with 2000 additional troops, and charged furiously on the panic-stricken rebels, who made little resistance. It was a mad chase and only stopped by the darkness, which rendered further progress through the the bogs and marshes impossible. Three hundred of Louis's men were left dead in the fields, and many more perished in the water. The duke thought that the rebel army was virtually destroyed, and wrote that night to the state council that, when he should pursue them the next day, he doubted whether he would find any one to talk to.

Louis fell back towards the Ems and took up his stand at Jemmingen, a little town in Friesland not far from the sea, where the river was wide and there was no bridge. Had he but paused at Reyden, four leagues farther up the river, he might have gained, and safely crossed, the bridge into Germany.

Five days later, July 20th, Alva arrived at Reyden and at once perceived that Louis was in a cul-

* Strada, vii., 54 *et seq.*

† Hoofd, v., 171, *et seq.*

de-sac, and that he held the lives of at least 10,000 rebels in his hands. *

Louis's forces were in a peninsula made by the Ems on the east, and the Dollart, a deep bay on the west. With Alva at his rear, retreat was rendered impossible. This was the moment that the mercenaries chose to clamour for their pay. Louis pointed out to them in fiery phrases that victory was their one chance of life. The Ems, the sea, the Dollart, and the Spaniards surrounded them. What hope of escape from those four pitiless foes?

Partially convinced, the men sullenly acquiesced.† Time had been lost in discussion, so that when Louis ordered all the dykes at their rear to be opened to impede the advance of the Spaniards, the sun was already high. When Alva appeared at 8 A.M., but little had been accomplished, though there were no laggards at the work, and Louis himself took spade in hand.

At the first onslaught the men fled from the dykes. The first Spaniards held on till their comrades came up and the patriots fell back. Then the duke began his worrying tactics. He cut off every chance of retreat towards Reyden, and only showed part of a small force, which deceived the rebels into attempting an engagement. The few were then heavily reenforced, and Louis's men fled and left the artillery deserted. ‡ The count actually fired his cannon with

* His expectation of finding no one to talk to was not quite realised.

† Hoofd, v., 173.

‡ *Ibid.*, v., 173.

his own hand, and then was swept back and the battery was taken possession of by the Spaniards. The faintest hope was now at an end. A horrible massacre ensued.* According to Alva seven thousand rebels fell to seven Spaniards, but this may have been exaggerated. Undoubtedly very few Spaniards were lost, while the rebels were almost exterminated.† For two days the slaughter lasted, and when Spanish soldiers took a thing like that in hand, they did it thoroughly.

Louis succeeded in crossing the Ems by swimming, and with very few followers took his way to Germany, back to his disappointed, but not disheartened, brother.‡

The story of Alva's retreat belongs to a less personal history—suffice it to say that his march to Groningen was marked by every horror.

The dismay of that waiting family at Dillenburg can well be imagined. Orange was at Strasburg ready to make an attack on another point as soon as Alva was thoroughly engaged in the north. Everything had happened as he had foreseen. He had warned his brother not to delay before Groningen, but the heedless younger man had disregarded this advice and acted with more enthusiasm than judgment. He had advanced from step to step without counting the cost, and on his lamentable defeat the

* Letter of Alva to Philip, given in Bor, I., iv., 245.

† Strada, vii., 56. "For (as Hubert a Valle that was present at the Battaille wrote to Margaret of Austria) never men fought with greater Cowardice, or stubbornesse: if it were a Fight, and not rather a meere Slaughter."

‡ Hoofd, v., 173.

elder brother showed a patience and self-control equal to the courage and buoyancy of the younger.

Scarcely had Louis shaken the water of the unfriendly Ems from his yellow hair, when he wrote to Taffin,* "Our army is partly defeated and separated," a phrase that Alva would hardly have recognised as a correct description of the event. He thanks God that he is safe and sound, and that the prince is already astir with 5,000 horse and 8,000 foot, and begs Taffin, whose name sounds as if he might have found kindred among the Welsh dissenters, to hasten his business so that they might get some ships on the sea.

The following letter from the prince to Louis gives a picture of the situation †:

"July 31st.

"My Brother: To-day I received your letter by Godfrey and have also heard what you commissioned him to say. As to the first point, be assured that I have never felt anything more than the pitiable success which you met on the 21st of the month, for many reasons which you can easily understand. This defeat increases the difficulty of the levy we have on foot, and has greatly chilled the hearts of those who might otherwise have given us aid. . . . With God's help I have determined to push ahead, and hope on the 8th of August to be on the spot for muster, at the place you agreed on with M. Aldegonde. I have written to the same effect to Count Joost de Schauenburg, desiring him to report

* A minister of the Reformed Church, then trying to raise money in England.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 272.

† *Ibid.*, 276.

there with his thousand horse, although I do not know exactly where he is at present, and fear, after what has happened, that he cannot easily arrive so soon. In case you know his whereabouts, tell him of this plan as soon as possible, since delay affects us all. As the report is current that the Duke of Alva wishes to keep us from our muster, I pray you remember to advise me whether he be still in Friesland, and what are his forces. In case you hear that he is going to the said place, please at once advise Balthasar von Wolffven, whose house is not far from the Lippe, and also Otho of Maulsburgh, and this you may always do with any advices, for by sending me word first, intelligence might reach them too late. I cannot counsel you about your own plans, as I am ignorant of your resources and information, and what naval forces the enemy may have . . . . I can only say if you think you can achieve anything why do it in God's name, but I cannot heartily approve your risking your person on the water. . . ."

This postscript follows:

"My brother, as I said above, watch the Duke of Alva closely. If he means, peradventure, to descend on the muster, you would do well to turn on Duke Eric of Brunswick. In case you find it possible to come to the said place of muster it will give me great pleasure. We could then talk freely over affairs together. In case you can not come, which [coming] I greatly desire, let me have daily news and keep in correspondence with the Count of Emden, and know from him what is going on there." *

* This letter was addressed "To my good patron and friend George Albert von Greyffencloe to his own hands, in Ernest Stenten's house,

Considering how our gentle Washington swore at St. Clair's defeat, owing to his having disregarded the last cautions of his chief, the kindness and consideration of this letter are very remarkable. Every present plan, each future movement, was hampered by Louis's misfortune, but the prince uttered no word of reproach.

Orange's negotiations with the French Protestants who were a fairly strong power in France, bore fruit in an alliance with Coligny as their acknowledged leader.

A proclamation * issued in the joint names of Gaspar de Coligny, Admiral of France, and William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, declared that in joining their forces to resist the unjust encroachments on the liberty of conscience suffered in the Netherlands and France, they still kept in view the loyalty and allegiance due their respective sovereigns, "whom we see led astray by bad advisers." It was further stipulated that no injury should be done "our princes"—that whoever employed troops should be responsible for their support, and that in case either party should gain liberty of conscience for themselves, they should not withdraw aid from their less fortunate allies.

at Oldenburg." This address served undoubtedly to hide the real destination in case the messenger was stopped by the enemy.

Next to Louis, Hoogstraaten was at this epoch Orange's chief dependence. He had a similar attitude of loving loyalty towards his chief, though his patience, too, had been sorely tried by receiving neither orders nor information from Orange. He writes August 1st, he is confident that Alva's inquisitorial measures in the Netherlands will cause their armies to swell.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 282 *et seq.*

It was well that the prince had found friends across the Rhine, because in Germany, the lack of success attending his various expeditions had chilled the kindliness that met him on his first arrival. In May, the emperor * peremptorily ordered him to cease in the levies, lest the feelings of his Spanish cousin might be hurt. Orange answered this document by a long careful letter,† repeating the arguments he had used in his formal *Justification*, and declaring that he was well within his rights.

The lesser princes of the empire, too, vainly urged Orange to "sit still." William of Hesse‡ covered reams of paper in remonstrance, and utterly declined to lend any assistance, or even to allow any officer of his to accompany the prince, who "was powerless against so powerful a potentate as Philip, whom we have always heard mentioned as a good and mild monarch."

By August 31st, Orange, notwithstanding opposition from friend and foe, succeeded in mustering about 30,000 men. § Some of his standards were inscribed: "Pro lege, grege, rege," ‖ and others had as device, a pelican feeding her young from her own breast.

It was somewhat singular for the leader of a popu-

* Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 1.

† *Ibid.*, 6.

‡ Groen, *Archives* iii., 286.

§ Hoofd, v., 181.

‖ In one of her despairing letters to Philip in 1566, Margaret had said that the people were "sans loi, sans foi, sans roi." The legend, "For law, people, and king," may have been a protest against that assertion.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 291.

lar revolt thus to ally the monarch whom they were opposing with the people. But this was Orange's uniform policy. He protested loyalty until such protests were worn threadbare. On the day of muster, August 31st, he issued a formal proclamation, as head of the army, in behalf of the absent king.

After a statement of affairs in the Netherlands, he says:

"We summon all loyal subjects of the Netherlands to come and help us. Let them take to heart the undue stress of the laws, the danger of submitting to ignoble servitude, and of the ruin of the evangelical religion. Only when Alva shall have been checked in his career, can the provinces hope to enjoy free administration of justice and a prosperous condition."

At about the same date an appeal to the Netherlands was published, begging for aid. He prefixed verses 28, 29, and 30 of the tenth chapter of Proverbs to the document. *

Scanty returns came in. Promises were readier than coin, but even these were cold. Some of the poorest dissenting congregations gave from their scanty funds, and the prince gladly took the tiny contributions.

In September the whole army, 21,000 foot and

* "The hope of the righteous shall be gladness: but the expectation of the wicked shall perish.

"The way of the Lord is strength to the upright: but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.

"The righteous shall never be removed: but the wicked shall not inhabit the earth."

about 9000 horse,* were encamped in the province of Treves, near the monastery of Romersdorf.

Patriot leaders whose cause is in the balance must take what they can get, and not what they want. All the officers who came to serve were no more to the prince's taste, than were some of the untrained militia captains to that of Washington, whose independent service the American leader was nevertheless forced to use.

Among these allies was Lumey, Count de la Mark, with a good band of independent troops, himself nearly as wild a specimen as his ancestor, the Boar of the Ardennes. He had sworn never to shave or let scissors touch his hair till Egmont's death was avenged.

With this army, on whose success the whole cause now seemed staked, the prince made his way to the neighbourhood of Cologne. He stayed in the vicinity of Juliers and Limburg for a time, and then made a sudden descent on the Meuse near Stochem. Alva was on the other side of the stream.† The river was far too rapid and deep to be forded with

* Meteren and Bor agree as to the amount of infantry, but differ as to cavalry. Bor states the number at 4000, Meteren 7000, Grotius 6000, Campana and Hoofd 9000, and Strada 10,000, while de Thou puts it as low as 700, which Davies considers the most probable number.

† *Relation de l'Expedition du Prince d'Orange dans les Pays-Bas*, 1568. Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 319–337. Written by Courteville, Alva's official secretary. His narrative is filled out from a letter of John of Nassau. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 302, and Hoofd, v. 182. See also Renon de France, i., 360; Van Meteren, ii.; Strada, vii., 59; Wagenaar, xxiii., 258 *et seq.*

impunity, and the Spanish soldiers threw in sharp objects to increase the difficulty. By October 5th, Orange, however, reached a fairly good spot near the little village of Stochem, and transported his troops in a way used by Cæsar more than once. A body of cavalry, pressing as close together as possible, stood in the centre of the stream to form a dam against the current, and the whole army crossed in their shelter. When the news was carried to Alva by Berlaymont, that the rebel force was intact on Flemish soil, he declared that it was simply impossible. "Do you suppose I take the enemy for a flock of wild geese to fly across such a stream as that?" * But he soon found that it was a fact and he laid his plans accordingly. Alva's skill as a military leader lay in his ability to grasp the situation as it was. He was never hampered by military formulas. He never planned a regular engagement, but always preferred the Fabian policy.

In July, a decisive conflict had been a necessity. The Beggars had gained one victory. The inhabitants were flocking daily to Louis's standard, and unless the movement were checked with a strong hand, no bridle would ever again hold that restive beast—the people.

Now the situation was different. In Alva's hands rested the victory. It was October, and the question of winter quarters for an army belonging to no territory and backed by no exchequer was a serious consideration. Could the duke but hold his opponents back until the weather should force them to

* Hoofd, v., 197.

shelter, they would be compelled to scatter, to find, individually, the support that no potentate would grant them *en masse*, and the prince would again be alone.

On the other hand, an engagement was essential for the patriots. One victory might wipe away the stain of Jemmingen, and encourage the thrifty Netherland merchants to risk their guilders on the chance of an ultimate success. Orange therefore tried to force a battle. In vain! Alva was too quick and too wary. He had but a scant 16,000 foot and 5000 odd horse to oppose to the rebel force of more than 30,000, all told.

For a whole month the duke succeeded in holding the exasperated rebels on tenter-hooks. The prince was forced into changing his camp twenty-nine times, and every time did the duke appear at his side, and often they were within exchange of shot.* Alva took care to remove all the sails and stones from the mills, and there were no means of grinding corn. He not only forbade the peasants to bring any provender into the rebel camps, but let no houses nor villages remain standing which could possibly shelter the patriots.† The soldiers became utterly exasperated and discontented. The infantry had not a shoe; they were all cold, hungry, and uncomfortable. They saw no hope ahead and consequently grew mutinous. While Orange was trying to quell one disturbance, his sword was actually shot from his side.

* Strada, vii., 63.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 305.

His three brothers, Louis, John, and Henry, all heartily seconded him, and were exposed to danger from friend and foe.

Alva had gone like a will o' the wisp from Tongres to St. Trond, and on towards Jodoigne. Gladly would he have led the foe through bog, through briar and into snares, but the terrain was good; Orange knew it thoroughly and was safe, only going farther and farther into the heart of Alva's jurisdiction.

Meantime the Huguenot allies under Genlis crossed the Meuse at Charlemont, made their way through a corner of the Ardennes forest towards Waveron, where they arrived in the prince's neighbourhood, with the little river of Geta between them. October 20th, Orange brought up a body to protect the stream and then began to cross it. Hoogstraaten with 3000 men formed the rear-guard, ready for an attack. None was made, but Don Frederic was sent with 4000 foot and 3000 horse to detach Hoogstraaten's companies from the prince's. On this proving successful, he and Vitelli urged Alva to cross the Geta and finish up the army at one blow. Alva indignantly refused to be advised. Hoogstraaten's force was slaughtered almost to a man and the rest escaped. This was the only semblance of a battle during the autumn, and it was rather a massacre than a combat.

A few days later the Huguenot force was joined to that of Orange, but nothing was gained.* There were but 500 horse, and among the 3000 foot

* Courteville.

there were so many women and children that every movement was difficult.

There was really nothing to be done. Here Orange had arrived within a few leagues of Brussels, and not a single place—sorely as they were feeling Alva's cruel pressure—opened its gates to him. They were afraid.

Had not their assistance been wanted so badly, the burghers would have been more ready to give it. Actors, pirates, and warriors living on booty can find it easier to practise free-handed generosity than do commercial burghers, who know what it means to gain money guilder by guilder, and stiver by stiver. They cannot forget the question of return.

From October 5th to 12th, Orange had sent daily letters to Liege begging for aid, but fear of Alva was too strong, and both bishop and magistrates stoutly refused to help him.*

The one thing that seemed absolutely necessary was to hold together as many men as he could, as a nucleus for spring operations. He determined therefore to retreat into France and lend what aid he could to the Huguenot cause there. He kept 6000 horse and dismissed the rest of his army, even the foot-soldiers, who were very badly off, as they were almost naked, and planned to join and ally himself with, the Duke of Deux Ponts, whom he begged to furnish mills, as his army needed flour badly.† The prince had received none of the moneys promised

* Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 19–28.

† Note on position and projects of Orange—Groen, *Archives* iii., 310.

except from the Elector Palatine, and he was in such straits that if he received no aid he would be forced to let all his army go.

As Alva had shrewdly foreseen, it was not necessary to defeat an army that would dissolve of its own accord into its component parts, so that, as an army, it was no longer of the slightest use.

Poverty of the leader and discontent of the troops were as potent weapons as Spanish arms. *

The Germans were unwilling to listen to any suggestion of entering France. The independence of the mercenary bands, as always, made action difficult. Therefore Orange again decided to return to Germany. He recrossed the Geta, and marched towards the Meuse. But the passage he had made in October was impossible after the autumn rains.

November 5th, the prince again applied to Liege for free passage and supplies. Naturally what the town and the bishop had feared to do when the prince had a chance of success, they had no hesitation in refusing when he had nothing to score. †

Orange had no time to urge, and his urging would have been vain. Unable to gain the German bank of the Meuse, he turned and marched back, though not with 40,000 men, towards France. Alva pursued him, but held to his scheme of harrying without engaging.

The prince gained a slight advantage over some of Alva's companies at Le Quesnoy, and again at

* A letter of Count John to an unknown person describes in detail his brother's pitiable position—Groen, *Archives* iii., 302.

† Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 29 *et seq.*

Cateau-Cambresis. When Alva arrived at the latter place, November 17th, Orange had crossed the French border.

He was on ground that was very familiar to him. There he had spent the better part of seven years watching the French frontier in behalf of his old master and his new. Ten years had elapsed, and here, where he had fleshed his maiden sword, he found himself in armed and almost hopeless rebellion to that monarch, whose reign had opened with so much *éclat*, and who had just repaid the general to whom he owed his most brilliant victory with a criminal's death.

The royal troops of France,* under the Marshal de Cossé, were waiting near the marshes for the prince, and worried him with the same tactics that Alva had employed. De Cossé, however, was too weak to inflict much damage. He sent a secretary to the prince to protest formally against an unwarrantable intrusion, while Charles IX., not trusting to him, dispatched Marshal Gaspar de Schomberg † on the same errand. The king found it very strange that the prince should enter French territory with a large and puissant army. He had done him no ill, and no potentate could endure such a proceeding. If he wanted to pass amicably through the country he might do so.

Orange answered that he had no evil intent, but wished to do his Majesty good service. He was

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 311.

† This de Schomberg played an important part in subsequent negotiations between the Netherlands and France.

himself "but a petty companion," and would not think of attempting force against the French monarch.* As Charles had tried to exterminate the pure word of God, a thing prejudicial to neighbouring nations, he could put no faith in his Majesty's assurance that he did not wish to force the consciences of any one.

The last vestige of adherence to "our true and ancient religion" (*notre vraie et ancienne religion*) has completely disappeared from the prince's phraseology. In the rest of this letter he takes the bold stand of sympathy towards all Christians everywhere, a catholicity of tolerance hitherto unhinted at by any one. His previous arguments against persecution had been purely on the ground of expediency. That method had never been effective in the whole history of the world. Now his argument was that honest convictions should be allowed free play everywhere, and he was only doing good service to Charles, in aiding his loyal subjects to resist papal oppression.†

* Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 34. See also unpublished letter dated December 3, 1568, Hague Archives.

† On December 11th, the prince lost another faithful friend in the person of Count Hoogstraaten, who died from a wound in his foot, caused by the accidental discharge of his own pistol. Morillon wrote to Granvelle that the Prince of Orange vainly tried to make Hoogstraaten on his deathbed declare that he died a Protestant. To his persuasions the dying count replied: "For your sake I have sacrificed my wealth, my honour, and my life, but I do not wish to lose my soul." Such were the kind of rumours that were reported even without the aid of a daily press.—*Cor. de Granvelle*, iii., p. 431.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## DARK DAYS.

### 1569–1571.

THE New Year of 1569 dawned sadly.* The previous twelvemonth had been full of bitter disappointment and there was little hope of a more cheerful future. The independent mercenaries had entered France sorely against their will, and their sullen murmurs of discontent soon grew into mutinous demonstrations. The impossibility of holding the army intact soon became apparent. Languet wrote, "The prince is a dead man. He is not only deserted by his soldiers, but is in actual danger from them, as they threaten to strangle him and lay waste Nassau." Alava wrote to his chief that five hundred men would be sufficient to finish the rabble.† Catherine de Medici gave them some slight, secret aid which tided

* There are no letters in Gachard's *Correspondance*, from December, 1568 to May, 1571, and Groen gives but scant records in the *Archives* for this period. Meteren, iii., 500.

† *Archives Nat.*, Paris.

them over a few weeks.* Alva heard of this and remonstrated indignantly. With her usual duplicity, the queen denied the fact entirely, and said that she was just on the point of taking the field in person against the insolent intruders.

There were moments in which the prospects seemed to brighten a trifle. The Huguenots succeeded in raising some money from Rheims, which they generously shared with Orange, and de Genlis joined him with eighteen hundred horse. Charles took alarm at this and sent Schomberg to the prince to offer the restitution of his confiscated principality, and two hundred thousand crowns if he would renounce his alliance with Condé and discharge his troops.

Lettenhove says,† that a Huguenot agent who accompanied Schomberg, found an opportunity to say privately to the prince. "Do not listen to Schomberg—the king is not prepared to combat you. You can dictate your own conditions."

Orange was very anxious not to recede, but he was in no position to give an autocratic command to his unpaid men.‡ A consultation with his officers convinced him that he could not make the soldiers stay against their will. He therefore replied to

* The Court of France was very shifty and changing in its attitude towards the reformed faith and towards Spain. The queen mother may have been influenced in action towards Philip by the rumours abroad regarding her daughter's death. See below.

† Letter of Languet, Feb. 18, 1569. *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 165, also Hoofd, v., 185, *et seq.*, Bor, v., 309.

‡ *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 165. Elizabeth too, was moved to proffer aid if he would only hold ground in France.

Charles that he would take his men from the kingdom. He thanked both the king and queen dowager warmly for their kindness, and assured them that in entering their dominions he had only been actuated by a desire to serve their true interests. On January 13th, he crossed the Moselle and made his way to Strasburg, where he sold almost his last remnant of plate to pay up his mercenaries, giving a lien on his principality and other possessions for the remainder of their pay.* When this news was brought to Alava he exclaimed triumphantly: "Thank God, Orange has left France," and the Duke of Alva wrote to Philip, "Orange may be considered as a dead man. He is without influence or credit."† Crushed and baffled the poor prince certainly was, but dead, even in the eyes of Spanish law, he certainly was not.

While these events had been passing on the borderland, the German electors had forced Maximilian to make one more diplomatic effort on behalf of the Netherlands and the exiles.‡

On September 28, 1568, they presented a memorial to the emperor upon the Netherland situation. This document described Alva's vicious cruelty and the rigour with which he treated the natives, from the high-born noble to poorest peasant. Although Philip had repeatedly assured the emperor to the contrary, the inquisition, as well as the edicts of the Council of Trent, had been established in full force. The electors maintained that the Netherlands were en-

* Hoofd, v., 186.

† *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 168, *et seq.*

‡ Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe II.*, ii., 38, *et seq.*

titled to the privileges of the Augsburg religious peace. Maximilian should look to it that the King of Spain be not allowed to indulge in such usurpation.*

Maximilian dispatched his own brother, the Archduke Charles, to Spain, to tell Philip that he must yield to the pressure of public opinion.† The matter moved with astonishing celerity for diplomacy. By October 21st, the archduke's letter of instructions was ready, and he set off for the Spanish court where Netherland envoys had had so little luck, and arrived at Madrid, December 10th.

When Philip received the archduke's message, he expressed the greatest surprise that anyone could find aught to criticise in his debonair administration of his own governments. Of course, in the matter of religion, he had done everything to further the cause of the Church, as was the duty of her faithful son, but he had made no change in the government of the provinces, etc. He sent his cousin two letters, one public, and one private, both to the effect that the king could do what he pleased with his own, and his dear cousin Maximilian would do well to attend to his own affairs. On January 23d, three days after the reception of the documents, the archduke answered the public letter in a bold, independent tone, maintaining the cause of the Netherlands and the Prince of Orange, and declaring that the emperor

* Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe II.*, ii., 45, *et seq.* Granvelle sneered at this appeal as an attempt made by Orange to reinstate himself in Philip's favour, but the prince had no such optimistic view.

† Hoofd, v., 264, *et seq.*

could not and would not see free Flemish and Dutch citizens treated like inhabitants of Sicily and Spain.* This sounded very well for the ears of Europe, but now another negotiation came on the carpet, which pushed these high-minded imperial sentiments to the wall.

Two deaths had occurred in Spain during the past year. Don Carlos died under circumstances which made it seem more than probable that his own father had arranged the length of his son's life.† The world lost nothing if Fate were aided in this instance.

Whatever the real truth of Don Carlos's story, there is no doubt that he showed no promise of being a wise, judicious ruler of those portions of the earth's territory claimed by the Spanish monarch. The very uncertainty that veils him, has been far more tender to his reputation than it deserved. His death, however, left Philip without an heir. Shortly afterwards, Elizabeth of France also died, and her Spanish husband was a widower for the third time, with a hand free to tempt some other royal maiden.

Maximilian had six daughters to provide for. Philip found it inconvenient to have his German cousin criticise his gentle and debonair treatment of his northern subjects. Why not stop all such criticisms by making him his father-in-law? This proposition was made to the archduke, who communicated at once with Vienna and received the emperor's

* Renon de France remarked: "It is extraordinary when every petty German prince can regulate religious matters in his own land, that a mighty king should be hampered in like freedom."

† See Chapter XVI.

orders to arrange the marriage. All negotiations about the poor ill-treated Christians ceased. On March 4, 1569, the Archduke Charles left Madrid with a present of 100,000 crowns, and Philip's promise to marry the Archduchess Anne who had been previously betrothed to the King of France.

In February, the Huguenots gathered strength, and the Duke de Deux Ponts addressed a letter to Charles IX., which was practically a declaration of war between those of the reformed religion and the crown. The Prince of Condé was the acknowledged head of the Protestants, who now formed a fairly strong party. The king placed his brother, the Duke of Anjou, at the head of the army collected to meet Condé, and France was in a state of civil war. Therefore, after disbanding his troops at Strasburg, Orange returned to France with Counts Louis, Adolph, and Henry, to offer their personal services to the French Protestants, while waiting for some means to aid the cause of the Netherlanders.* The royalist forces under the inexperienced Anjou, took the field and turned towards Lorraine. On March 13th, the bloody battle of Jarnac was fought, and victory won for the royalists. The Prince of Condé perished on the field, and Anjou returned to Paris, triumphing as though he alone had achieved the success.

* In his correspondence with Charles and Catherine de Medici, Orange had distinctly declared that his sympathy was with their oppressed Protestant subjects. He left France after Charles's request to be sure, but it was perfectly understood that he only complied with that request because forced to do so by his poverty. The fresh outbreak of war left him free to return to his allies.

Louis of Nassau fought valiantly in this battle and gained the warmest affection of the French Huguenots, who, henceforth, counted him as one of themselves.

Orange was not with the army at this time. He was engaged in the harder task of trying to raise funds for his unpaid soldiers.*

Money was obtained from various sources, and on June 29th, he reappeared in France with about 1200 horsemen.

During the summer he visited Brantôme's castle,† in company with several Huguenot chiefs. The following picture is given of him by his host:

"Several French allies of the Duke de Deux Ponts, as well as the Prince of Orange, Count Louis, and their young brother, came to Brantôme after the death of the duke. I had retired thither on account of a severe quartan fever, which had poisoned me so villainously that I could not get rid of it for months. Thus it was that I saw all these gentlemen, French and strangers, in my house. They showed me, one and all, every possible honour without doing any damage to my house. Not one single image was destroyed, nor a single pane of glass broken; indeed, it might be said that if the Mass had been there personified, it would not have suffered the least damage, for love of me. I gave them good cheer, as the King of Navarre and the admiral were both fond of me; indeed, I am related to the latter through his wife. In short, I had reason to be well satisfied with

* *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 197. Lettenhove imputes this absence to cowardice on the prince's part, a charge which is unfounded.

† Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines Etrangers*, ii., 164. (Paris, 1866.)

them all. There it was, I saw the foreign princes and had long interviews with the Prince of Orange in an alley in my garden. I found him a very distinguished person, quite to my taste, capable of discussing affairs well. He told me how ineffective was his army, laying the blame on his poverty and the strangers who bore him no love. But he had no intention of stopping in the middle of the way, and he would regain lost ground very soon. He had a very pretty manner and was of an extremely good figure. Count Louis was smaller. I found him [the prince] sad, and he showed that he was weighted down by his ill-fortune. But Count Louis was more open in his countenance and seemed more joyous. He was considered more hardy and venturesome than the prince, and the prince wiser, riper, and more prudent."

At the battle of Roche l'Abeille, Orange shared the command with Count de la Rochefoucauld; later he was present for a time at the siege of Poitiers,* and then probably returned to Germany. One of his brothers accompanied him, while the two other Nassaus remained with their allies and played important parts in the disastrous battle of Moncontour. The prince's departure was so secret that the explanation of his motives was left to rumour. The natural result was that there were many stories set afloat on the subject.† Brantôme says that he went

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 322.

† Lettenhove says that by his departure three days before the battle of Moncontour, Orange lost an opportunity of wiping off the stain on his reputation caused by his absence from Jarnac.—ii., 197.

(*a*) The Spanish ambassador at Paris, Alava, wrote that when the news of his going spread through the Huguenot army, well-deserved

in person to England to solicit aid of Elizabeth. Languet also gives England as his destination, but states that his business was to negotiate the marriage of the English queen with Henry of Navarre. Others thought that he intended to take advantage of the preoccupation of the royal troops in the east of France, to attempt to deliver La Rochelle into the hands of the English. The opinion, however, that gained the widest credence was, that he saw some chance of rousing the Netherland refugees to concerted action, and hastened to Germany for the purpose.* He had expressed to Brantôme his lack of

contempt was expressed for the prince, and he was considered a man with reputation gone (*por desreputado*). *Lettre du Octobre 4*, Paris Archives.

(*b*) As to Languet's suggestion, it is very improbable that the prince could have crossed the Channel without leaving a trace of his journey. There is, moreover, in the British Museum, a letter (Oct. 17, 1569) from Count Louis to the Earl of Leicester, apologising that neither he nor the prince was able to go to London. British Museum, Galba C., iii.

(*c*) According to some Spaniard, Orange said: "I do not fly. I am going to regain my principality of Orange." (*dixo a su partida quel no yva huyendo.*) *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 198. In spite of Charles's promises, the principality had remained in an uncertain state of confiscation.

* Bor says: "It was determined that the prince should go to Germany on account of various pressing affairs, but the extreme dangers made many doubt the wisdom of the undertaking, as he would have to cross France, pass from one corner to the other, and be forced to journey by day and lodge by night among his enemies. Still, as he had God's glory and honour to defend and the public weal to further, he overcame all dangers and difficulties, out of which God miraculously rescued him. He reached La Charité and then Montbéliard at great peril, whence he retired into Nassau to prepare a new armament."—363, b. See also Aubéry, *Mémoires*, p. 43. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 323.

confidence in the Huguenot campaign, and he probably thought it best to let slip no opportunity that might prove advantageous to the cause that lay nearer his heart. Hoofd mentions the incident as one of the examples of the prince's courage, saying that he left the camp disguised as a peasant, accompanied by his young brother Henry and a very few attendants, and crossed the Rhine at peril of his life, determined to get reinforcements in Germany.*

The battle of Moncontour resulted in a total defeat for the Protestants, and again it happened that the glory won by Louis of Nassau's valour was the only advantage accruing to him from the brilliant part he played.

In November Orange regained the shelter of Dillenburg, but he considered it unsafe to stay long in any place and soon left the castle to wander up and down in the land. By Christmas he reached Arnstadt, whence he wrote anxiously and piteously to John.† There are many rumours afloat about Alva's intentions and it is only too certain that he is making active preparations to obtain efficient troops.

"While our adversaries work, we, who ought to be aroused to action, sleep. Things are come to such a

* In the autumn he was undoubtedly in Germany, as Paul Buys managed to leave Brussels on pretence of private business and have an interview with the prince somewhere near the frontier. They spent a day together and discussed the question of attacking the provinces from the sea. This man was a devoted friend of Orange and kept him constantly informed of events in the Netherlands. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 333. Hoofd, 195.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 333.

pass that religion will be entirely crushed. Who will dare exert himself in her behalf when the utter enervation of her natural defenders is seen?"

It was difficult at this time to see where any aid was to come from, but Orange continued in his quest, finding a little help here and a little there, and danger to himself everywhere. He was forced to keep so hidden from the knowledge of men, that his death was again currently believed.* This report came to the ear of Viglius, who said, "The head gone, we need not fear the rebels. They are shorn of their strength." † Bor says, "As the year 1569 drew to a close, it looked as if the troubles were pacified and as if the duke were free to act as he minded,‡ for no one feared the Prince of Orange longer."

Nevertheless the prince did not sleep in his oblivion, but worked day and night to make friends in every quarter.§

Besides the secret appeals that he made in person, he sent many more requests for assistance in every direction. Paper and ink evidently formed a part of his scanty baggage, as letter after letter left his hand

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 335.

† Sed de obiter Principis Auriacensis, qui cum Duce Wolffgango Galliam ingressus est, incerta adhuc sunt nova; eo verò sublato capite minus hic timendum nobis esset. Viglii Epistolæ ad Joach. Hopperum, i., 520 (May 26, 1569).

‡ What else had that gentleman done since he arrived in the Netherlands?

§ "Dies niet te min ruste deselve Prince niet maer praetiseerde dag en nacht, om aen alle kanten vrunden te hebben en tot gelegender tyd volk te mogen bekomen." Bor, 311 b.

to the refugee nobles, and to the reformed congregations in England, Cleves, Emden, Hamburg, Bremen, and elsewhere. The sums that were collected in response to these prayers were often pitifully small, but every little counted.

He gave commissions to Peter Aaronson, Van der Werve of Leyden, and Joriaan Epessoon, preacher, to make collections in Holland, where they met with fair success. Bor remarks that it was a strange fact, both in regard to the fugitives, and to those who still clung to their homes, that the people poor in this world's goods were much more generous than the rich.* Many, indeed, excused themselves and could not spare even a trifle, while others simply contributed for the sake of seeing their names on the lists, which has been a characteristic of subscription papers in all ages and lands.

Orange's urgent prayers for money were not, however, the only demands made on the purses of the Netherlanders in this year of 1569. Alva had conceived a plan of taxation promising large returns to his master's exchequer. This plan raised a greater storm throughout the land, than all the religious persecutions and flagrant acts of injustice endured during the past two years.† It must be remembered that the provinces were not subject to Philip, as France, to her sovereign. The separate counties and dukedoms came under one head in various ways, but certain rights they retained, and the dearest right of all was, that the public moneys were granted by the

* Bor, v., 360. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 336, 377.

† Bor, v., 281.

public. They had suffered wrongs of many kinds from their sovereigns, but the purse strings had always remained in the hands of the provincial assemblies. Now, the regent determined to arrogate to himself the right of taxation, to substitute an arbitrary system of impost by the crown, for the cherished constitutional privilege of self-taxation.* He summoned a general assembly of the provincial estates, and on March 20th, caused the following decrees to be laid before them.

1. A tax of one per cent.—the hundredth penny, was imposed on all property, real or personal, for immediate collection.

2. A tax of five per cent.—called the twentieth penny, was imposed on every transfer of real estate. This was to be perpetual.

3. A tax of ten per cent.—called the tenth penny, was laid on every article of merchandise or personal property, to be paid as often as it should be sold. This also was to be perpetual.

On hearing these autocratic propositions, consternation seized upon the assembly, as can be easily imagined. Every man present knew what commerce was, and what the effect would be on trade, if a tenth of the value were taken at every transfer of articles of merchandise. One article might be sold ten times in one week and pay a hundred per cent. of its worth to the state. The indignation felt in the assembly spread at once throughout the land, where nearly every peasant was sufficiently intelli-

* Motley, ii., 283. Bor, v., 280.

gent to understand the inevitable result of such taxation.

Petition after petition, report after report, poured into the capital. There was a spirit of defiance in the air which none of the persecutions had aroused. The hundredth penny they were willing to concede. When given, that matter was ended, but the struggle over the other imposts was long and bitter. They were felt to be entirely illegal. Compromises of large sums paid down at once, were vainly offered. Finally, by the middle of 1569, an assent had been wrung from each separate provincial estate, who conceded the point in desperation, hoping that no attempt to raise the tax would be made.

Alva wrote triumphantly to Philip that he had succeeded, and there would be a fine increase to the royal income. His rejoicing, however, was premature. The estates took courage, withdrew their consent, and refused to permit the collection of the five and ten per cent. imposts. The struggle was renewed, and at last a compromise was effected. The provinces agreed to pay two millions annually for two years, the term to end August, 1571.* And thus the final settlement was postponed.

A burden that pressed very heavily on the prince, and which impeded him in his plans, were the debts incurred by the expedition of 1568. There are numerous documents still existing, showing how the Nassaus had pledged nearly every possession

* "Heeft in Octobri een ander propositie gedaen en geeischt van de Nederlanden in 't generael in plaetse van den voorez 10 en 20 pennink, twe milioenen gouts 's jaers te geven."—Bor, v., 288.

of value they had, in the vain efforts to satisfy the soldiers' demands. Some passages from the prince's letters to John reveal still more clearly the straits to which he was reduced, and the rigid economy he exercised. In order to appease the clamours of the men, he had promised, if he could not pay them within a specified time, to give himself up as hostage.

On January 1st, he wrote * to John, begging him to send a certain Tieman van Hort to an assembly of the unpaid troops, to point out to them how injudicious it would be for him to fulfil this promise. If he were openly to stay anywhere, the emperor might insist on his giving some pledge that would injure their cause irretrievably.

"If I were under the ban of the empire, or in the emperor's hands, all hope would be lost of their ever receiving their due. If, on the contrary, I am free, there is always the chance, with God's help, of things taking a favourable turn. If there are any of our friends at the proposed assembly, I would be glad if you would send them a line . . . begging them to endorse Tieman van Hort. You know them better than I, so I trust to your judgment.

"It seems to me, too, that it would be a good plan to send a little cup to Hartman Wolf,† worth about one hundred florins. You can take that amount of silver from the strong box, where there are still some of the vessels belonging to the chapel. As to the Duke of

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 338.

† A captain of one of the independent bands, who was married early in 1570.

Saxony's 10,000 florins, I have done what I could, but have been unable to obtain anything."

This was written from Sondershausen. On the 17th, the wanderer wrote again from Arnstadt.* After touching on his fruitless negotiations he says:

"I am afraid if my letters are read by the enemy, they will see how little prospect there is of aid from the princes. At the same time I do not dare fail to advise [Coligny and others] of the situation. . . . Schwarzburg has returned, having accomplished nothing. . . . He and George von Holl discussed my going to you, but they think it inexpedient for several reasons. I could not go secretly enough to elude discovery, and I have too few horse to go openly. . . . All friends to the king's party are seeking means to entrap me, and my soldiers might easily do me an ill turn for the sake of money, as I am still in their debt. Then, too, as Dillenburg is a fortified place, they think that if I were there, strangers would flock thither from every quarter, and the duke could easily send some one to spy out the place, or even to poison me. Besides, your expenses would be greatly increased by the strangers, and then if the soldiers were in the neighbourhood they might make an assault on the place. . . . The landgrave agrees with this advice. . . . Count Gunther, Hans Gunther,† and Count Albert‡ beg me to stay with them, and offer me many courtesies which I greatly appreciate. . . ."

* Orange to John.—Groen, *Archives*, iii., 342.

† Another Count Schwarzburg.

‡ Count of Nassau-Saarbrück.

He concludes by saying that he will take the above advice, unless his wife consents to go to Dillenburg, in which case he will make his way there at all hazard.

A few days later the prince wrote again to John,* thanking him for his reports and begging him to be on his guard at Dillenburg,† "for times are terrible and full of wickedness."

"It seems to me that your neighbours ought to help you, as it is important to them to have Dillenburg well fortified. Would it not be in order to write to Landgraves Louis and William and other counts in the vicinity, and ascertain, at least, how many men-at-arms they would furnish in case of need? It is greatly to be wished that your artillery could be brought back from Duke Casimir and replaced at Dillenburg. . . . It would be well, too, to find some one to work saltpetre, as there must be a sufficient quantity in your estates to supply you with powder. . . .

"I beg you to send me by the bearer of this, the little hackney that the admiral gave me, in case he is in good condition, and send me besides, two pairs of silk trunk-hose; your tailor has one that Nuenar gave him to mend; the other pair, please order to be taken from the things I wore lately at Dillenburg, which are on the table with my accoutrements. If the little hackney is not in condition, please send me the grey drudge with the cropped ears. You may have noticed that Afferstein wrote me begging to have a horse. Do look around and see if some good horse cannot be found that he can use, and send it to me

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 342.

† "Car le temps est terrible et plain de méchanstés."

with the price. I will forward the money to you. Since he seems to be so willing, something ought to be done for him. Pray pardon me for troubling you with my affairs. I hope to repay it some time."

Two days later he writes again:

"This morning my brother Gunther departed for Dresden to see the elector before his journey to the emperor, which should be about the 21st instant. I begged him if it came in *à propos*, to mention the affairs of the Netherlands." *

About this time news arrived from Spain, which gave the patriots some hope that the time might have come when Philip would be forced to use all his resources at home, and give the Netherlands time to breathe. The Moors, who had been driven out of their possessions in the latter part of the fifteenth century, were still a factor in the Spanish realm.

A revolt, which broke out in the early winter, was sufficient to cause Philip lively alarm. His young brother, Don John, showed himself very effective in the suppression of this uprising of the old, proud spirit of Granada. He used, however, only the forces he had in Spain, and Alva was not called on to part with any of the machinery at his command, for squeezing money out of the Netherlands.

In virtue of his right as independent sovereign of the petty principality of Orange, during this year

* Count Schwarzburg went to a diet to try and interest the emperor in Netherland affairs, but the mission was fruitless. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 346.

the prince assumed the privilege of issuing * naval commissions, with letters of marque and reprisal, to Dutch fishing-vessels. He thus formed the nucleus of that navy whose history has been so brilliant. It was Coligny's suggestion that the water should be made the patriot's ally, and it proved that there lay Holland's strength in opposing her foe.

Baron de Montfaucon, Lancelot de Brederode, and Albert d'Egmont were some of those who sailed out into the North Sea, armed with the prince's commissions. Adrian de Berges, Seignior de Dolhain, was appointed admiral, and under his leadership the hardy little fleet dodged along the coast, capturing what they could, and succeeded, as their first feat, in rescuing two merchant fleets, one of sixty and one of forty sail.

William's right to assert a sovereign's prerogative may have been clear in his own mind, but was less clear to others. His navy was dubbed a fleet of pirates, and "Beggars of the Sea" became a term of terror and reproach. Unfortunately, in spite of a careful code of regulations which remained a dead letter, the conduct of these rovers was more worthy of sea robbers than of regularly commissioned sailors. Finally, in April, 1570, Cardinal de Châtillon,† Coligny's elder brother, wrote to the prince that discredit was brought on his cause, and great injury done to the reputation of the patriot leader by the mad escapades of these lawless beggars. He advised him to revoke all commissions given by himself and

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 351.

† *Ibid.*, 373.

Louis, and find some more efficient officer to act as admiral of the fleet.

This advice the prince followed, and, August 10th, appointed Seignior de Lumbres, admiral. It was stipulated that every craft should carry a minister of the Gospel, etc., but here again the regulations were hardly carried out to the letter.

In March, * Orange went back to Dillenburg for a time, apparently during an absence of John, as he writes to him on the possibility of aiding the Huguenots.

In the Netherlands, Alva † finally published, on July 16th, a pardon which he hoped would pacify the people. Over a year previous to that date, Philip had sent him three pardons, telling him to judge which was the most appropriate to the situation, and to burn the others.

Alva chose the most "clement and mild one." On July 16th, this was read to the assembled multitudes in the Grande Place at Brussels, and sent to the other market-places through the land. The readers, however, took so little pains to be heard that the auditors were no wiser as to the contents of the paper at the end of the performance, than at the beginning. The public rejoicings ordered by Alva duly took place, and then the Netherlanders awoke to the fact that this pardon was like the others offered by Philip, inasmuch as no one was forgiven except those who had not sinned against the Church and Philip.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 365.

† *Ibid.*, 382.

The prince had conceived various plans of action, but nothing had succeeded. Frightful inundations along the coasts of the Netherlands, which occurred in November, defeated several projects and injured his modest fleet.* In West Friesland twenty thousand persons are said to have perished in the waters. Indeed, it is difficult to understand what inhabitants were left in the Netherlands, between Philip and the sea.

In a little volume entitled *Documents Inédits Relatifs à l'Histoire du xvi^e^ Siècle*, M. de Lettenhove has published thirty-three letters which passed between the prince and his agent, Wesembeck, from August, 1570, to January, 1571, concerning a succession of enterprises against a number of cities. They are written in a very guarded manner, the names of metals being used to designate the provinces, and those of the Greek deities and demigods, to represent the cities. Rotterdam was Triton; Brill, Pollux, etc. None of these plans were carried out, owing to lack of funds, and to the reluctance of the cities to co-operate. The prince had only too much reason to fear that nothing could succeed without money.

Louis of Nassau remained in France during all the time his brother was wandering homeless on German soil. He lent what aid he could to the Huguenots, and spent much time in La Rochelle, which was a headquarters for the Beggars of the Sea, whose piratical operations the young patriot did not reprove.

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 385.

In August, 1570, Charles IX. had entered into negotiations with the Protestants, which resulted in the Peace of St.-Germain. The Huguenots were declared eligible for places of public trust, and La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité were placed in their control. A special article was introduced concerning the Prince of Orange and Louis of Nassau. All their French possessions were restored to them, and the king declared that he considered them his "good friends and relations." *

So cordial were the expressions used in regard to the prince, that the report spread that Orange was about to enter the service of the French king. † These indications of cordiality made the sanguine Louis hope that France was going to espouse the cause of the Netherlands. He had several interviews with Charles which raised his hopes still higher.

Orange spent the last half of the year 1571, in watching the signs of reviving interest in France and England. He left no chance neglected of urging Charles IX. or Elizabeth, to take steps to help him for the sake of their own interests, and he carefully watched the Netherland cities for the slightest indication that the citizens might be induced to help themselves. Alva became aware that the great rebel was not dead, and determined to make one more effort to cast his memory into oblivion. He suggests

* *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 208.

† Letter of Henry Norris, August 23, 1570: "The Ambassador of Spain doubts lest he be brought into the king's service and so become a naturalised Frenchman." *Les Huguenots*, etc., ii., 208.

to Philip that all the Nassau possessions in the Netherlands should be sold, and equivalent estates bought for the Count of Buren in Spain. *

Later, he submitted a sentence for Philip's approval, which provided that the prince "should be executed in effigy, his escutcheon dragged in the dust at horse's tail and then broken to pieces, his children declared ignoble and infamous and incapable of holding estates in the king's dominions." †

* Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe II.*, ii., 135.

† *Ibid.*, 177.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## DOMESTIC TROUBLES.*

### 1568–1577.

THE serious losses and annoying rebuffs that Orange suffered during that summer of 1568, and in the following years, the distressing lack of funds he needed to carry out his plans, were not the only hardships he had to bear. There was another irksome, nagging worry that followed him, wherever letters could reach him. When he had safely housed his family in Dillenburg castle—a residence that was occasionally changed by the Nassaus for Siegen—he expected his wife to be perfectly happy and contented with all her sisters-in-law and the large feminine household, who were left with little amusement but to watch for messengers from their absent men folk. But it was no easy situation for the most unselfish of people, the most

* This story is taken mainly from the article by Böttiger in *Historisches Taschenbuch*, v. Raumer, vii., 98 *et seq.*; and *Het Huwelijk*, etc., Bakhuizen. Groen also gives some letters and details, *Archives*, iii., 327 *et al.*

devoted of wives. Only a woman so ardently interested in her husband's schemes, that every other consideration was subordinated, could have borne it patiently. Anne of Saxony was none of these, and she made no attempt to disguise her dislike of the present situation and future possibilities.

In 1567, her wish to return to the Netherlands had been frustrated by the united refusals of her husband and her kin. She had yielded her preference, perforce, and Maurice was born in the home of his ancestors. During the following spring and summer, Orange was busily engaged, and only came to Dillenburg at rare intervals. Life within the walls was dull and the news brought by the anxiously expected messengers, depressing. After begging her husband to let her go elsewhere, and meeting only refusals, Anne took advantage of his absence, raised funds by hook or crook, and managed to get to Cologne. From there she wrote to her uncle urging him to send her a trusty confidant. Towards the end of the year 1568, Augustus accordingly sent to her Volmar von Berlepsch, Colonel of Thuringia. The sum of the report * that this messenger made to the elector was as follows:

Anne complained bitterly to him of her hard position, saying that next to God, her uncle was her only hope. She had always warned her husband against war with Spain, but he had turned a deaf ear to her, and now was nicely caught in the net woven for him by others, but especially by Louis, whom she could not abide. Her husband and

* Berlepsch to Augustus, January 18, 1568. From Langensalza.

ANNE OF SAXONY.

his brothers had spent all their ready money, had sacrificed plate and jewels for the maintenance of their soldiers, who could never expect to accomplish anything. Of course her money had all gone the same way, and she had not objected, but it had all been useless, just as she had plainly foreseen. The unpaid soldiers were now clamouring for their wages, even threatening to slay the prince, or hold him a prisoner until his friends came to the rescue. Orange had only given her two hundred and fifty crowns in nearly two years. Could not her uncle help them to redeem the property she had mortgaged so reluctantly? She would be glad enough to live with her husband as count, noble, or plain citizen, but it was really unbearable to have absolutely nothing in the world, to be expected to exist on wind, and to eat one's own hands and feet. Therefore she begged the elector to prevent a threatened foreclosure. In five or six days she expected to be confined again, and that was another reason why she had come to Cologne. Her mother-in-law and all the ladies in Dillenburg were very disagreeable to her; often she could not get a glass of common wine or beer, and sometimes days would pass without their coming to visit her in her apartments. It would be simply dreadful to have a six weeks' illness there, when she would need some entertainment. But that was not the real reason for her sudden journey. An epidemic had broken out at Dillenburg, and in the whole Westerwald there was not even a barber-surgeon to be found. How could she stay there? At Cologne there were a hundred and fifty Netherland gentlewomen with whom she could talk and amuse herself during the ennui of her confinement. She had taken care to bring with her a learned, pious preacher, banished from the Netherlands, and she had nothing to fear from Spanish interference. She hoped to so live at Cologne

that no ill report of her could arise. Her condition was hard enough here, for she had not a stiver. Gerhard Koch, an Antwerp merchant living in Cologne, had lent her a large sum, but as the prince already owed him thirty thousand florins he would trust her no further. Her jewels and last pieces of plate were in pawn. She was deep in debt to her servants for meat, wine, and bread. Count John had written to her that the silver plate on which they had obtained very little, was all forfeited, as it had not been redeemed at date. But poverty-stricken as she was, she simply would not go back to Dillenburg without her husband; she would die first. Why could they not repair the Nassau house at Dietz? *

Berlepsch testifies to the frugality of her table, at which, however, forty-three persons were fed. He had advised her not to be stiff-necked, but to yield to her husband's advice. After writing to Augustus from Langensalza, Berlepsch proceeded to Dillenburg, and discussed Anne's affairs with John,—the great expense of the Cologne establishment, the rebuilding of the Dietz house, etc.† John said he had been wanting to complain to Augustus and the

* Anne's child was born shortly after the date of this letter. She was christened Emilia. In her twentieth year, greatly against Maurice's wishes, this Emilia persisted in marrying the adventurer, Don Emanuel of Portugal. The marriage proved unhappy, and at length the Protestant Emilia with her Protestant daughters retired to Geneva where she ended her days.

"She retired to Geneva in 1623, with six daughters, where I saw her in 1624, shortly before she died of melancholy. In this connection I must not forget that she held one of my sisters in baptism."—*Mémoires de Aubéry, Seigneur du Maurier.*

† The account of this interview and the succeeding letters is taken from Böttiger.

landgrave about Anne's constant criticisms and grumblings. As to her entertainment at Dillenburg, why they, the Dillenburgers, were no princes, and if Anne did not have what she wanted, she would have to take what she could get (*mache wie man wolle*). If she could not adapt herself to their manner of life, and make herself agreeable, she could go to Cologne or where she would, but she need expect no further aid from him. He had already done far more than could be rightfully expected of him. First they had lent the prince 50,000 florins; then, they had entertained him into the second year, with his wife and court, of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons, without a word of repayment. The last christening—that of Maurice—had been celebrated at his expense. Then he had given his Excellency twelve good pieces of cannon on wheels, and provided him with the greater part of all his outfit, in which the wagons alone had cost some 5,000 florins. He had borrowed 170,000 florins on Dillenburg credit, etc., etc.

It was absolutely impossible to pay the bond of 12,500 thalers, due the princess, or to rebuild the house at Dietz. For her husband's sake they would receive Anne with ten or twelve persons at Dillenburg, and share with her what the Lord gave them. If that did not suit her, she might have the house at Freudenberg. The silver plate belonging to the princess, her husband, and himself, was pawned for 22,000 silver marks,* and the jewels for 20,000 marks. Could not the elector and landgrave redeem

* The gilded mark was worth ten, the ungilded eight florins.

them? Surely John had done his part—all, and more than could be expected of him.

Berlepsch goes on to say that Anne had lived three months in Cologne in the house of John Molon, the prince's treasurer (pfennigmeister), without payment. The pious widow Brederode,* whom the princess trusted, and who knew just how to treat her, was with her. A young Netherlander named Hauff was her steward, but although frightfully dear, the housekeeping was not done very skilfully.†

Berlepsch was told by Gerhard Koch, that the princess had no one who understood how to manage, though she had a crowd of useless servants. Her stables were reduced to two carriage horses and two donkeys. Sixty thousand florins were due to Koch, and, indeed, the princess had not a stiver except what he gave her. Butchers, bakers, and wine-merchants harried him for their money. As soon as the prince appeared, it would be much worse.

When Augustus received this report, he wrote to Anne to go back to Dillenburg, repeating what John had said about her "stiff-necked" character, and all that he had offered. But the epithets used by her brother-in-law were not of a nature to induce Anne to believe that she would be treated as she desired at Dillenburg, and she entirely declined to return, probably not affecting the household very deeply by her refusal. Her next step was exasperating enough to the prince. She determined to take matters into

* This was not the widow of Henry Brederode.

† "Sei aber der Haushaltend nicht sehr verständig, wie es auch sehr theuer daselbst wäre."

her own hands, and see what she could do to get back their confiscated property. Again she writes to the elector, begging him to help her, "that I may make some provision for myself and my three poor children, so that we may be a burden to none. There is no one else who helps me in the world." By this appeal she succeeded in getting sufficient money from Augustus and the landgrave to send her attorney, one Dr. Betz, to Maximilian, at Vienna, beseeching the emperor to espouse her cause and forward her message to Spain.

Her plea was more ingenious than wifelike. She urged, that by his refusal to answer the summons of his liege lord, and the consequent proclamation against him, the Prince of Orange had suffered civil death.* In the eyes of the Netherland law he was a dead man, ergo on Netherland soil she was a widow, ergo the Netherland estates were hers, as she had heard a rumour that Alva would not deprive any woman of rank of her property. A little later, to be sure, she writes to her "dear friendly aunt" the electress, that she fears this rumour is false. "Spanish cunning is more than all cunning," and she begs to be told of any further news.

The answer given her from Spain is, naturally, that she is no widow. If not a rebel herself, she is an aider and abettor of rebels. She had sold her plate worth 200,000 florins to help her husband's rebellion, and had interceded with many princes.

In 1568, she had fallen on the royal troop at Kerpen and taken off wood and hay to Cologne, which

* The words of the petition are "civiliter mortuum."

made her a rebel herself. Anne's German attorney naïvely answers this accusation by saying that his princess could not be meant by "*la gueusesse*," * because that was not her name, but Anna, daughter of Maurice of Saxony. He further said that her journey to Germany in the early winter of 1567, had been purely to see her dying grandfather who departed this life March 31, 1567. She had followed her husband for three good and sufficient reasons: (1) It was her wifely duty. (2) Because she was no subject of Spain. (3) Because they had not left her an estate as big as a man's hand. All her plate had been thrown in with her husband's, but she had kept tight hold of her jewels as long as she could. When Kerpen was plundered she had been in Heidelberg and not in Cologne at all; besides, she had paid for the wood and hay later. She wanted to lay the matter before the imperial court at Speyer, or to persuade Alva to consider her claims, but her brother-in-law, John, prevented her. Nothing was done either by law or by mercy.

Dr. Betz reached Vienna, and there he used the five hundred thalers given him for his expenses, and did not proceed to Spain, to lay the matter before Philip on the occasion of his marriage with Anne of Austria, when it was thought that the monarch's heart might be softened to pity. By June 15th, Betz had returned to Heidelberg, whence he wrote to excuse himself from carrying out his mission.

Anne deluged her relations with letters begging for aid. The securities of her dowry were pledged,

* The beggaress.

and she was anxious to redeem them. She wanted to set up a household at Siegen. She complained that the elector did not pay her allowance regularly, to which he answered that she had not sent any one to the market at Leipsic to get it. Then again she wrote anxiously to know what her chances were of obtaining the sum of 30,000 thalers due her on the death of her step-father, for which she possessed a note [a mortgage on Dornberg, Kamberg, and Sachsenburg]. She plaintively reminded the elector that it was he who had made her marriage, and he ought to help her instead of seeing her deprived of her rights on every side. He did, finally, redeem her pawned jewels to the number of three hundred and eighty-five.

The following is a list of the attendants whom Anne had with her in July, 1569:

"Two young ladies, one young gentleman, one steward and two assistants, and a maid. Two chambermaids, a nurse, two children's maids, a laundress, a page, a kitchen scribe—whatever that may be,—one tailor, one butler, one cook, one lackey, one door boy, one steward's boy, and one Christian preacher, pure in teaching, who consoles her Excellency and prays with her."

She certainly needed it, but his consoling prayers were hardly potent enough to make her letters cheerful reading to any of her kinsfolk, upon whom she freely showered them.

In November the prince wrote * to her as follows:

* Orange to Anne, November 11, 1569, from Dillenburg; Groen, *Archives*, iii., 327.

"My Wife: I have seen by your letters, and heard from our secretary the reasons why you have not come to meet me, and I do not find them sufficient, considering the duty and obligations a wife owes her husband, in case she bears him any affection. When you say that you have promised yourself never again to be found in this land, you ought to consider that you promised before God and his Church to abandon everything in the world to cleave to your husband, and I think you should have this more at heart than all other trifles and frivolities, if you propose in the least to fulfil your obligation and duty. These words are not intended to persuade you to come hither. Since you dislike that, I will not press it, but they are to remind you of your obligation, as I am in duty bound to do.

"When a man is immersed in difficulties, there is nothing in the world that would give him greater refreshment of spirit than to be comforted by his wife, and see her bear her cross with patience, especially when her husband is suffering for his efforts to advance the glory of God, and win the liberty of his country. Then, too, there are so many things to say to you which are unsafe to write, without endangering my life and honour. It seems to me that if you felt the slightest friendship for me, you would be governed more by your heart than by frivolous pretexts. I will not lay further stress on the fact that we are giving every one an opportunity to talk about our private affairs, but will leave you to judge whether such publicity is pleasing to me. I promise you that if you had asked me to meet you at Frankfort instead of Siburg, which is in the very midst of my enemies, nothing would have kept me from acceding to your proposition, so anxious am I to see you, though all my

officers and friends implore me to avoid cities, because of the great danger to which I expose myself.

"Do you not see, my wife, that you who are my spouse, leave me to find consolation in trouble from others who are not so near me? I notice, too, that you advise me to go to France or England. I wish, indeed, that French affairs were in a state to warrant our going there safely, for then the unfortunate Christians would be better off than they are now. But you may be sure that if God in his mercy does not give some remedy, the poor Christians in France will be worse off than those in the Netherlands. If the king treats his subjects so harshly, what would he do to strangers? So you see what prospect there is of a retreat there.

"In regard to England, there are reasons which I cannot write, but I assure you, when you hear them, you will lose your desire to go thither. Our affairs are in such a state that it is no longer a question of our deciding upon a place of residence, the point is rather who will receive us. In both towns and republics I imagine that they will think more than twice before giving me shelter, as would the Queen of England, Kings of Denmark and Poland, and all the German princes. I do not speak here of *you*, but of *myself*, because I am in the bad grace of the emperor.

"After all, there would have been little to say about this particular point, even if I had seen you, and in the most secret way, for all my gentlemen and friends agree in this opinion, that, since my movements commence to be a public matter, it is better for me not to stop in any one place, but be here to-day, to-morrow there. . . .

"I would have been glad enough of the relief of seeing you, if only for a few days. . . . I am off to-

morrow. Concerning my return, or when I can see you, on my honour I can tell you nothing for certain. . . . You may be sure that your affairs will never go so well that better cannot be desired, and nothing would please me more than to see you contented." *

The simplicity of this letter is very marked. There is no diplomacy here, nor yet is there any exaggeration of the affection which it must have been hard to give a woman like Anne. The prince is trying in a very honest manner to hold on to pleasant relations with his wife. It is not a carelessly written letter either, as a draft in German shows that he went over it twice at least, but certainly it is not the work of a secretary.

In a letter to John,† February 7th, Orange says: "As for my wife, it seems to me, since it is not advisable for me to stay long in any one place, that she might as well be left where she is, without urging her coming, especially as she does not want to come."

February 8th, Anne writes‡ to her husband:

"FRIENDLY DEAR SIR: The reason why I did not answer yours of Dec. 14th, your secretary will tell you, together with other things that I commissioned him to report. In answer to your request that I should appoint some place where we could meet, and as you do not wish to come in the neighbourhood of the Netherlands, I do not know any better place than Leipsic. I meant to visit the elector about this time anyway, as I have not seen him for nine years. I will take my way to Leipsic,

* This letter is slightly condensed.

† Groen, *Archives*, iii., 352.

‡ *Ibid.*, 354.

which ought to be convenient for you, as I hear that you are not far from there. Or if you like it better, come to Braubach with Landgrave Philip. I know of no better and more convenient places than in the lands of my two cousins, and I believe you will be safe. Let me know which of these two places you prefer, so I can write to the Landgrave Philip and ask him to lend us his house, for I never again will go near any of *your* friends. If you go on urging me to it, I shall consider it a proof that you wish my death."

Anne had taken a resolution that she meant to stick to with all the persistency of a small nature. It was the same spirit she had shown in her seventeenth year, when she resolved to marry the prince, no matter what any one said to the contrary. What had been sweet determination in the maiden was unpleasant self-will in the wife.

April 6th, she writes * again:

"FRIENDLY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter and message from T'Serraets—I cannot believe what you write concerning your desire to see me, for you have not acted at all in accordance with your words. In respect to the place that you wish me to come to, which I am to reach in three days, it is not at all convenient for me, and I do not know how to get the means of travelling to join my lord and relations. You write that you are unable to send me money, but I have noticed that you do not care much about helping me. You know better than I whether you could or not. As I cannot get what belongs to me from you and your relations, I must appeal to my friends to get means of sustenance. For I see

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 367.

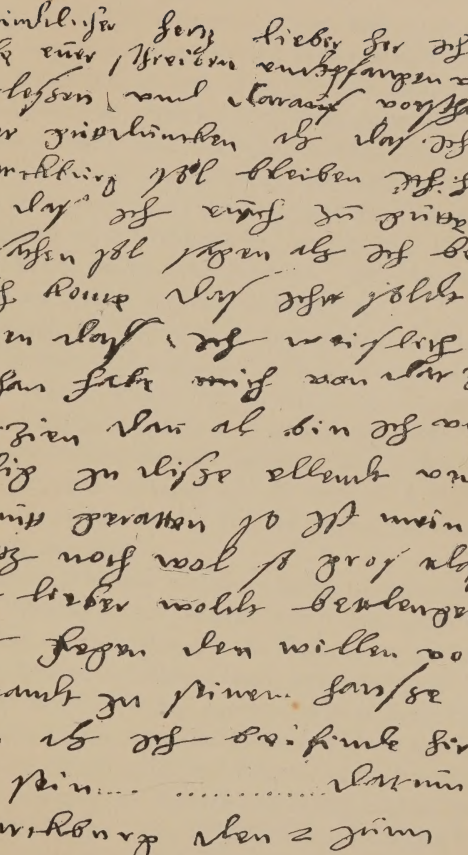
I need not expect any good from you and I do not wish to be called a disgrace to, and ruin of, the House of Nassau, which I can rightfully call my disgrace and ruin. As to your saying that when I come to you I had better leave my anger at Cologne, I have never been angry at you and yours, except with just occasion. Our meeting will probably be the cause of increasing my just anger instead of diminishing it, if you expect to go on in your old way. As it does not please you to come to any of the four places I have named, I must bear it patiently. For my part I cannot go to the place you appoint, so I commend you to God's protection, and hope He will treat you better than you have me."

This was the kind of a letter to make any man lose patience, and William had, certainly, kept his temper long enough. On the receipt of this, he wrote,* April 22d, to the landgrave, sending him the letter and saying it was simply impossible to bear this sort of thing any longer. When he wrote a warm, friendly letter to Anne, she left him without an answer for two months, and then sent a careless note † (February 8, 1570). Later, as soon as he had determined to join the fleet, and, feeling the uncertainty of seeing her again, he sent T'Serraets to her, and begged her to make an effort to join him, suggesting that Louis of Hesse ‡ would lend them a house at Giessen, where she need not see a member of his family, if it were so disagreeable to her. This was followed by another note, suggesting using one

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 369.

† *Ibid.*, 354.

‡ *Ibid.*, 369.



FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER FROM ANNE OF SAXONY.

of Philip de Solms's houses. She had responded with the angry and unpleasant letter which he enclosed. Considering how many other annoyances and head-breaking cares he had (*rompement de teste*), it did seem hard that she should thus add to his anxieties—*à la fin que l'homme pert toutte sens et pacience et respect*, etc. In response to this plaint the landgrave sent Anne money, an old lady in waiting, and several honourable women. They probably did not have a very agreeable reception.

Once again in May,* did the almost too long-suffering prince make another effort to write pleasantly to Anne, whom he actually addressed as "Ma mie," begging her not to be too intimate with Louis of Hesse and his wife: adding that if the elector and landgrave advised her to stay with them a few days she might do so, but he hoped she would not prolong her visit.

This letter, perhaps, decided Anne to consent to go from Marburg to Siegen, where she saw her husband for the last time.† On November 15th, she writes to the elector that Count John had paid her back 2000 florins of her money, which had been spent on the Gotha expedition in 1568, but she had seen nothing of the promised income of 1500 thalers. Since her journey to Cassel the 2000 thalers had long been used up. The 1000 that her husband had given her had gone to pay her poor domestics. This state of things continued with little change for nearly three years. During all that time the princess

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 380.

† Juste, *Guillaume le Taciturne*, p. 128.

never found one word of sympathy for her husband's disappointments and privations.

Finally, in 1571, the long discomfort came to a final rupture, and never again did the prince address his wife as "Ma mie," or try to bring her to an amiable state of feeling towards himself. Anne's disinclination to join her husband had not been due to caprice only. She had consoled herself in her exile with the affection of a certain John Rubens, father of the painter, and refugee from the Netherlands, and it was her desire to be with him that kept her in Cologne. When she went to Siegen he followed her, and there, in March of 1571, Orange found him and obtained from him a confession of his relations with the princess. According to the laws of the land, the Nassaus had perfect right to put Rubens to death. There was evidently no doubt of the fact. Anne, to be sure, wrote * in March to Orange protesting her innocence, but another note from her to Rubens, which fell into the prince's hands, and which is preserved, made the matter clear and unquestioned. Rubens was thrown into prison at Dillenburg, and ventured to beg for no further mercy than that his death should be by the sword. This was contemptuously denied him, but he was allowed to linger on in confinement. The fact is, it was probably clear to the Nassaus that Anne was the guilty one,† and that it would have been impossible

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 387.

† In his confession Rubens said: "de dire qui fut le premier il fault bien présumer que je n'auroie jamais eu la hardiesse d'approcher, si j'eusse eu crainte d'être refusé."

for any one of Rubens' rank to have approached her had she not made all the overtures herself.

At this time Orange was at Dillenburg. He wrote * to John, April 9th, upon the subject, expressing a fervent hope that this affair could be kept quiet. Of course, this was not anything that touched his affections. Any spark of feeling that he had had for Anne must have been extinguished long before. In May, Anne wrote † to John, again protesting her innocence, and begging him to intercede with the prince. She says she wished she had only followed the old landgrave's advice, and never married into the Nassau family. He had been the only person who had cared for the interests of a young girl. The letter is not pleasant reading, but the poor princess was in a sorry strait. She did not care for the public affairs, to which she felt that she had been sacrificed. That no one cared for her, she thought was due to the world's injustice, and not to her own delinquencies.

For three years she remained in Nassau, dwelling in a house at Beilstein, a living disgrace and heavy burden to her husband's family. Her children were removed from her charge and brought up by Count John, who watched over the details of their education with loving, parental care, so that they grew to have a more familiar affection for him than for their less known, absent father. Many letters passed between Anne's uncle and brother-in-law regarding her. On February 26, 1572, William of Hesse wrote in a paper of instructions:

* Groen, *Archives*, iii., 394.

† *Ibid.*, 397.

"Whenever men forget God and follow the Devil nothing else is to be expected than is taught by the Old and New Testaments and confirmed by heathen writings and daily experience. My niece knows how we begged her, not only as an uncle, but as a father, to refrain from speaking contemptuously of God, the Master, and to be diligent in prayer and in reading of the Holy Writ. We also advised her to show due respect to her husband, who was not forced upon her, but whom she took voluntarily, against the wish of our father of blessed memory. We urged her, moreover, to conduct herself with the honour and dignity behooving a princess, according to old German usage; we warned her to beware of light, foreign customs with their idle show, and to hold fast to praiseworthy German manners, and especially to be very chary of entertaining strangers in her own apartments. Had she followed this counsel she would not now be under so heavy a cloud."

The Elector of Saxony did not attempt to defend his niece. He had been too well informed of her eccentricities to be surprised that Anne's character had gone from bad to worse. But he asserted that the prince was more at fault than the princess. Orange had not entered on the marriage in the right spirit, but had said flippantly that he would rather have his wife read Amadis de Gaule than the Bible. Now he was reaping his reward for his light-mindedness. Anne was a modest, well brought up young girl when entrusted to him. He had not taken proper care of her. No wonder that she had gone wrong, etc., etc.

It was natural that Anne's uncle should blame

some one for the deterioration of her character, but her fantastic, undisciplined behaviour during ten years had been too notorious for the prince to be touched by these words of condemnation. Anne's mind was unbalanced from her girlhood, an unrestrained habit of wine-drinking at all hours of the day increased her peculiarities, and insanity was the natural result.

During the years that she remained under the care of Count John, it was a growing difficulty to find any servants to stay with her, no matter at what wages. Her conduct was so violent that they were often in danger of their lives, while in her quieter moments she, poor thing, often wished herself dead, a wish that was probably echoed by all her relations and connections. So little real sympathy did the elector evince for her that, in 1572, he proposed to the Landgrave William, to have her locked up alone in a room where her only communication with the world should be by a grated window, through which her daily food could be given her, and a preacher could offer her spiritual consolation.

This inhuman proposition was not carried out at the time, and the princess dragged on her existence at Beilstein.

In 1575, the correspondence about her was renewed. The elector and landgrave finally consented to resume charge of her. She was taken to Dresden,*

* It was first proposed to take her to Rochlitz, in Saxony. A son-in-law of Melanchthon was removed from that place to make room for Anne. She had just enough will left to protest at this, and was taken to Dresden instead. The landgrave suggested to the prince that she should be immured, and the report be spread that she was

and her uncle actually put into execution the plan he had suggested to the landgrave. She was incarcerated in a dungeon, fed through a slit, and a preacher expounded the true doctrine to her daily. As her mind was entirely gone by that time, it is to be feared his were but idle words. Life lasted though all else were gone, and the poor princess lived for two years in this dreary state. At last, on December 18, 1577, in the thirty-third year of her age, she died raging mad. On the following day this wretched "Great Elector's daughter" was buried at Meissen, in the tomb of her ancestors, followed thither by a long procession of "school children, clergy, magistrates, nobility, and citizens."

dead. Orange replied through a messenger that it was only just that her relatives should take her and be responsible for her, and do with her what they would. She was, in fact, dead to him.—Groen, *Archives*, v., 195.

# APPENDIX A.

## LIST OF GUESTS AT THE WEDDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.*

AUG. 24, 1561.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Elector of Cologne, with . . . . | 25 | Horse |
| Duke of Jülich, with . . . . . | 30 | " |
| Duke William of Lüneburg, Landgrave Louis Henry of Leuchtenberg, with . | 33 | " |
| Counts Otto, Jost, and Eric of Schauenburg, with . . . . . | 40 | " |
| Counts Louis, Henry, Albert George, and Christopher of Stolberg, with . . | 40 | " |
| The Counts Günther, Hans Günther, and William of Schwarzburg, with . . | 100 | " |
| The Wild- and Rhinegraves, with . . | 30 | " |
| Count Philip of Hanau, with . . . | 40 | " |
| Count Hans of Nassau-Saarbrück, with . | 25 | " |
| Count Philip of Nassau-Wiesbaden, with . | 20 | " |
| Count Albert of Nassau-Weilburg, with . | 20 | " |
| Count Herman of Nuenar, with . . . | 25 | " |
| Count Philip of Hanau-Leuchtenberg, Count Philip of Eberstein, with . . | 12 | " |
| The Counts Ernest and Conrad of Solms, with . . . . . | 16 | " |

* Memorandum made by Augustus of Saxony ; Arnoldi, *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 131.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Counts Louis, Adolf, and Siegmund of Wittgenstein, Sayn, and Heideck, with | 25 | Horse |
| Franz, Lord of Renneburg, and Louis, Lord of Zeltingen, with . . . | 15 | " |
| 13 Colonels and Rittmeisters, with . . | 124 | " |
| The Counts of Berg, Salm, Brederode, Lingen, and Culemburg, with . . | 145 | " |
| The Lords of Maldeghem, Dangius, Battenburg, Frens, Brederode, Wulpe, Wareux, Wittenhorst, Waltberg, Haften, etc., from the Netherlands, with . | 93 | " |
| The Prince of Orange himself, with . . | 60 | " |
| Count Louis of Nassau, with . . . | 6 | " |
| Count Albert of Schwarzburg, with . . | 6 | " |
| 40 Nobles and Courtiers of the Prince, with | 117 | " |
| 7 Chamberlains. | | |
| 10 Pages. | | |
| 8 Lackeys. | | |
| 7 Officers. | | |
| 22 Sub-officers. | | |
| 16 Grooms with 4 pack- and 24 wagon-horses, and 6 pack-mules, | 34 | " |
| Total . . . . . | 1101 | Horses |

Besides those who were present we find, from a further memorandum of Augustus, that many others were invited who did not appear. Among them are the following names:

The King of Denmark.

Elector of Brandenburg and his son, the Margrave Hans George, with their wives.

The Prince of Anhalt.

The Archbishop of Magdeburg.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse or one of his sons, and various other dukes and gentlemen.

# APPENDIX B.

## LETTER OF PRINCE OF ORANGE TO POPE PIUS IV.

Nov. 16, 1561.

[WITH VARIATIONS FROM HIS ORIGINAL DRAFT.]

BEATISSIME PATER POST SANCTORUM PEDUM OSCULA:

Sanctissime Pater, posteaquam praeteritis diebus ex Germania superiori in Brabantiam reversus essem, Sanctitatis Vestrae literas sub vicesimo secundo Augusti ad nos Roma datas, Bruxellis vicesimo octavo Octobris reverenter accepi. Exhibuit mihi insuper* et suas hujus Galliae Belgicae Gubernatrix, quas Sanctitas Vestra sub eodem dato eademque de re ad eam dederat literas, legendas. Quanquam autem operae pretium non fuisset dictam Gubernatricem privatis commonere literis ut me in officio pietatis et obedientiae contineret, quippecum† nihil aliud desiderem, quam Sanctitatis vestrae, Ecclesiaeque‡ Romanae receptis et paternis monitis ultro obedire, tamen et vestrae Sanctitatis ad me literae et dictae Gubernatricis fraternae§ admonitiones mihi fuer-

* *In altera schedula legitur* similiter.

† *In alt. l.* siquidem.

‡ E. R. r. et. *In alt. abest.*

§ *In alt. abest.*

unt quam gratissimae. Et quidem optarem illam haereticam pestem quae praeter exspectationem meam ex vicinis Galliarum locis in principatum meum Auraicum irrepsit, eadem facilitates* qua invecta est, e medio tolli et aboleri posse. Quapropter cum mihi videretur huic communi malo, quod aliorum quoque principum populos infecerit, propter tum temporum horum injuriam, tum vero† omnium hominum Christiani nominis hodiernam insaniam, non‡ poenis solum sed etiam et quidem cum primis purioribus iisdemque assiduis et severioribus concionibus subveniendum ; illico ad meos Auraici mei Principatus Officiarios scripsi, iisque, pro § jure meo, severe mandavi ut curent passim in Ecclesiis dicti principatus mei nostrae Orthodoxae et Catholicae religionis doctrinam, uti|| a majoribus accepimus, pure et in dies majori¶ diligentia doceri, subditosque meos in ea omnimodo contineri ; contra autem facientes, et aliud aut palam aut secreto docentes, sub proscriptionis et bonorum confiscationis poena, nullius personae habito respectu, in carcerem puniendos conjici. Quorum** in transgressores et reos ita me animadvertere constitui ut delicti gravitas relligionisque nostrae tuendae necessitas postulare†† videbitur. Idque potissimum ut tum meae obedientiae, qua me Sanctitati Vestrae devinctum confiteor, specimen edam, tum ut fidei meae Catholicae, quam unice observavi et‡‡ colui semper, testimonium

* *In alt. additur* scilicet.
† *In alt.* fere.
‡ non—primis. *In alt.* et civilibus edictis et.
§ pr. j. m. *In alt. abest.*
|| uti a. m. a. *In alt. abest.*
¶ maj. d. *In alt. abest.*
** qu. i. tr. et *In alt.* in.
†† post. v. *In alt.* postulabit.
‡‡ et. c. *In alt. abest.*

perhibeam. Sperarem autem, Beatissime Pater, si S. V. efficeret ut viciniora primum Galliae Helvetiorumque loca vestrae* Pontificiae potestatis emendationi parerent, meam quoque provinciam que inde infecta est, ab hoc malo facilius levari et liberari posse. Interim tamen, quemadmodum dixi, nihil intermittam operae, quin faciam ea, quae mearum partium et † Catholici Principis propria futura esse arbitrabor. Haec‡ autem S. V. respondi solum, ut quid sibi de me meaque diligentia, fide et opera in conservanda nostra Catholica religione polliceri possit, intelligeret. Deus O. M. sit solummodo meus adjutor, et faxit ut exitus et rerum series pronae voluntati meae respondeant. Hisce S. V. Deo O. M. meque S. V. tamquam in Catholicae Ecclesiae gremium humiliter commendatum cupio. Ex Breda mea Belgarum' decimo sexto Novembris a.° 1561.

Vestrae Sanctitatis et Catholicae Romanae
Ecclesiae obediens membrum
G. Ur. Princeps.

* il. p. p. *scriptum erat* Catholicae Ecclesiae *idque deletum. In altera schedula totum abest.*

† et c. pr. p. f. *In alt. abest.*

‡ Haec—intelligeret. *In alt. abest.*

# APPENDIX C.

## THE COMPROMISE OF THE NOBLES.

1565.

Let all to whom these presents may come, know that we, the undersigned, have been duly informed that there is a horde of strangers in the land who care naught for public weal, but whose only desire is to satisfy their own ambition at the expense of the king. These falsely pretend to be actuated by a zeal to maintain the Catholic faith and the public unity, and have so gained over the king by false testimony, that he has let himself be persuaded, contrary to his oath and to the promises he has held out to us, to refuse a moderation of the placards against religion, and even to increase their severity to the extent of introducing the inquisition in all its force. This is not only iniquitous and contrary to all laws, human and divine, surpassing the greatest barbarity ever practised by tyrants, but it is a measure that must bring dishonour on God's name and cause desolation in the Netherlands. At the instigation of false hypocrites, his Majesty might annihilate all order hitherto maintained here, weaken the authority of the ancient laws, customs, and ordinances, observed from all antiquity in these provinces. He might deprive the estates of liberty of thought and abolish cherished privileges, franchises, and immunities; he might render both citizens and peasants, slaves of the

inquisitors, and subject even magistrates, officers, and nobility to the misery of inquisitorial visitations, so that finally all the king's faithful subjects would be in imminent danger, both as to life and property.

By such measures, not only God's honour and the holy Catholic faith would be endangered,—that faith they claim to maintain—but the king would run the risk of ruining his realm. Traffic would cease, trades would be abandoned, the garrisons of the frontier towns neglected, and the people incited to sedition—in short, the result must be a horrible confusion. As we have well considered the state of affairs, and our duty as his Majesty's faithful vassals, (being indeed pledged to maintain, by willing and ready service, his Majesty's authority and grandeur,) we have judged that we should fail in said duty if we do not attempt to meet these obstacles, and endeavour to provide for the safety of our property and our persons, and escape falling a prey to the greed of those who wish to enrich themselves at our expense, under the cloak of religion.

Therefore we have decided to form a holy and legitimate confederation and alliance, pledging ourselves by solemn oath to prevent, with all our efforts, the introduction of the said inquisition, either openly or secretly, under any cover or colour whatsoever, whether under name and shadow of inquisition, visitation, placards, or any other designation whatsoever, but to entirely extirpate and uproot it as mother and source of all disorder and injustice. We have this moment the example of the [inquisition] of the kingdom of Naples before our eyes, *which has been well discarded to the great relief and quiet of that whole country.** We protest, nevertheless, in good

* De welke so veel hebben verworpen tot grooter vertroostringe van haer land.

faith before God and mankind, that we do not intend in any manner to attempt anything which could redound either to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the grandeur and majesty of the king or of his estates. On the contrary, our intention is to maintain the said king in his realm, and to preserve good order and police, resisting, as much as in us lies, all sedition, popular tumults, monopolies, factions, and partialities. This confederation and alliance we have promised and sworn, and from henceforth we do promise and swear, to hold sacredly and inviolably, for ever and for all time, continually and as long as life lasts to us. Taking the sovereign God as witness, on our consciences, that neither by word nor deed, neither directly nor indirectly, knowingly and willingly, will we infringe it in any possible way. And in order to ratify, and render firm and stable this alliance and confederation for ever, we have promised and we do promise each other, all assistance of person and goods, as brothers and faithful comrades, giving each other the hand as pledge, that none among us, or our confederates, shall be examined, vexed, tormented, dishonoured, or persecuted in any manner whatever, either as to person or property, for any reason in connection with the said inquisition, or founded on the placards *tending to that or for cause of this our said confederation.** And in case any molestation or persecution eschews to any of our said brothers or allies, in any possible manner, we have promised and sworn, and we do promise and swear, to assist him in such event, both with our lives and our property, as far as in us lies, without sparing anything, and without exception or subterfuge, exactly as if it were for our own persons. We understand and expressly specify, that it will not in any way exempt or absolve us

* Ou fondé aucunement sur les placarts tendans à icelle.

from our said confederation, that the said molesters, or persecutors, try to cover their said persecutions by any other colour or pretext (as if they pretended to punish rebellion or urged any other pretence, no matter what), provided that it seems probable to us, that the occasion has proceeded from the above mentioned causes. We maintain that in such like instances, no crime of rebellion can be alleged, considering that the action is instigated by a holy zeal and a praiseworthy desire to maintain the glory of God, the majesty of the king, public peace and assurance of safety for us and ours.

We agree, however, and promise each other that each of us, in all such exploits, will consult the common opinion of all the brothers and allies, or of such as may be appointed for the purpose, so that holy union may be maintained among us, and that what is made by common accord may be more firm and stable. Whereas, in testimony and assurance of such confederation and alliance, we have invoked, and do invoke, the most sacred name of the sovereign God, creator of the heaven and earth, as judge and searcher of our consciences and thoughts, as One who knows what is our purpose and determination, praying Him most humbly that by His power from on high He may maintain us in a firm constancy, and so endow us with the spirit of prudence and discretion, that being always aided by good and ripe counsel, our plan (purpose, design) may have a good and happy issue, which will redound to the glory of His name, to the service of his Majesty, the king, and to the public weal.—Amen.*

* First three signatures : De Brederode, Louis De Nassau, Charles, Comte De Mansfeld.

# APPENDIX D.

## LE PRINCE D'ORANGE A PHILIPPE II.

April 10, 1567.

Pourquoi il n'a importuné le Roi de ses lettres.—Il expose et justifie ce qu'il a fait à Anvers et dans son gouvernement de Hollande.—Présent de 50,000 florins qui lui a été offert par les états de Hollande, et qu'il a refusé ; motifs de ce refus.—Son retour à Anvers ; émotion qu'il y apaise.—Lettre que lui écrit la duchesse de Parme, pour qu'il prête serment : il s'en excuse, et se démet de ses charges.—Il persiste dans cette résolution, malgré les représentations de la duchesse.—Il termine, en protestant de sa fidélité, de sa loyauté et de son obéissance envers le Roi.

Anvers, 10 Avril, 1567.

Sire, estando las rebueltas en este pais de V. M. tan grandes, y viendo el poco medio de poder advertir á V. M. de ninguna certinidad del estado del pais, no he querido importunar à V. M. con mis cartas, y tambien porque, durante estas rebueltas, he estado poco con Su Alteza, la cual, en el comienzo, me embió á esta villa, para la tener y mantener en el servicio y obediencia de V. M., y en tranquilidad y reposo, y todo el dicho pais en general : en lo qual me he empleado de tal manera que, gracias á Dios, esta villa tan importante jamás se ha desvergonzado à ninguna rebelion, aunque muchos del populaje han estado muy adelante de hacer inconsideradamente muchas insolencias, que ciertamente merescen muy gran castigo : de lo qual ha pesado

mucho à los buenos del pueblo. Y tambien sepa V. M. que todo esto sucedió en mi ausencia, y antes que yo fuese embiado por Su Alteza á esta villa, la qual, quando yo viné, se hallava en tal desórden, que puedo asegurar à V. M., como cosa notoria à todos, que estava en terminos de perderse y arruynarse, lo qual V. M. podrá entender la verdad dello á su venida, aunque veo los que al presente no cesan de calumniarme, y aunque en ello se me hace muy grande agravio. Todavia yo he hecho tal diligencia, que las desórdenes que ha avido se han ydo remediando poco á poco, de suerte que, con la ayuda de Dios, está la villa agora y queda en la obediencia de V. M. tanto como qualquiera otra villa de por acá. Bien es verdad que me podrán calumniar que he permitido que las prédicas se hiciesen dentro de la villa, y que ellos han hedificado algunos templos, lo qual parece esceder del acuerdo hecho à xxiij de agosto; pero, quando V. M. sera informado de la verdad y del estado en que entónces estava la villa, y el poco medio que avia para remediarla, hallará V. M., por muchas razones, que fue muy mas conveniente de las admitir dentro de la villa, que no fuera della, y dexarles predicar dentro de sus templos que ellos hedificaron, que sufrir continuassen las prédicas en las iglesias, por que estavan empatronados para hechar de ellas à los cathólicos. Y así espero que V. M. terna entero contentamiento del pequeño servicio que en esto le he hecho, de lo qual no quiero hacer mas alegaciones, esperando que V. M. quedará satisfecho, quando será informado de la verdad; y quando en alguna cosa tuviere escrúpulo, yo daré satisfacion de como en todos estos negocios yo no he tratado nada, sino con el parecer y consejo del magistrado de aqui: de suerte que pienso que V. M. no me querra culpar por lo pasado.

Despues sucedió que, siendo avisada Madama que las cosas de Holanda, que es mi govierno, yvan en desórden, me embió allá para remediarlo : en lo qual me empleé por tiempo de quatro meses, durante los quales provey de tal manera á todo, como podrán testificar los presidentes y oficiales y todos los estados de las villas, à los quales me remito, por no ser largo en esta. Solamente diré que el mismo pais que antes estava en grandes rebueltas, aviendo derribado algunas iglesias y monasterios, fueron en fin apaciguados, y puestos en entera obediencia, sin que en ninguna villa se hiciese cosa contra el acuerdo que se hizó por agosto. Y mas puedo decir que yo dexé los abitadores todos prestos y con mucha voluntad para poner su cuerpo y hacienda por el servicio de V. M. Bien es verdad que en Amstradan fue contradicho el acuerdo, por que querian meter las prédicas dentro de la villa, y se pusó en aventura de perderse, y por no hallar medio ni órden para señalarles lugar fuera, fue necesario de darles el monasterio de los Franciscos dónde antes predicavan, de dónde el magistrado nunca los pudo hechar ; pero de todas las partes dónde comenzaron á hacer prédicas dentro de las villas despues del acuerdo, los hizé quitar.

Despues viné à La Haye, dónde se avian juntado los estados del dicho pays, los quales, viendo lo que yo avia hecho por apaziguar lo todo, me hacian un presente de cincuenta mill florines, lo qual no me venia mal á propósito, como V. M. facilmente lo podrá conjeturar, para comenzar á sobrellevar mis deudas grandes que tengo y he hecho en el servicio de Su Mag$^{d}$ Imperial y en el de V. M., assi en guerras como en otros viages y jornadas ; pero no los quizé aceptar, para que se entienda y se vea que los servicios que ho hago no proceden por avaricia ni por mi particular interes, sino solamente de verdadera

aficion que siempre he tenido y he de tener toda mi vida, y como he de hacer siempre, al servicio de V. M. y bien del pais ; y en parte lo rehusé tambien, por la fama que avia que V. M. queria que todos los governadores y otros que tenian cargos, hiciesen nuevo juramento y todo lo demás que se acostumbra hacer, sopena que él que fuese contra esto, le fuesse quitado el govierno ; y como yo presumia que á mi me avian de pedir que hiziese el mismo juramento, lo qual no lo podia hacer buenamente, por muchas razones, las quales he alegado por mis precedentes, y que tambien se me avia de quitar por esto los dichos goviernos, no los quizé engañar en recibir el dicho presente.

Y atento que el pais de Holanda estaba apaziguado, me torné á esta villa, adónde las differencias aun no avian cesado del todo, no embargante que el conde de Hostrat avia hecho muy bien su deber durante mi ausencia, por tenellos en sosiego. Y despues hemos continuado lo mismo entrambos juntos, por tenellos en obediencia, hasta que el pueblo de la nueva religion, asistido de muy gran numero de canalla, tomaron ocasion de querer ayudar á los que estavan cerca desta villa, que por la gente de V. M. fueron desbaratados ; esta junta se pusó en armas en grandes juntas que hazian, hasta muchos millares dellos, en un lugar que se llama, Mair-Brugge, los quales, aunque en gran trabajo y mañas, y peligro de nuestras vidas, fueron finalmente reposados, quitandoles las armas y la artillería que tenian ; y todas las cosas se pacificaron como de antes, sin alguna efusion de sangre, gracias à Dios, de lo qual avia aparencias, porque avia de todas partes mas de veinte mil hombres en armas : de que podra dar testimonio el magistrado, y las naciones de mercaderes, y los buenos vecinos desta villa.

Y antes que esta emocion sobreviniese, Su Alteza me

escrivió una carta, que la copia della va junto con esta, mandandome la intencion y órden de V. M. sobre lo del juramento de que arriba he hecho mencion ; y viendolo tan espreso, no obstante ninguna restriction ó exception, yo, no lo pudiendo hacer, como arriba lo he declarado, todavia luego en lo demas obedeci al mandato de V. M., y porque me pesaria que mis calumniadores llevasen á V. M. nuevas mentiras, y me cargasen sin razon, queriendome culpar desto, con querer decir que he sido desobediente al espreso mandato de V. M., pues que por mi respuesta me descargué assi desto como de los dichos mis goviernos y de lo desta villa ; todavia, viendo el daño y ruyna della tan aparente, me he querido poner á estorballes lo posible, porque conozco el gran deservicio que V. M. y el pais recibirian, si no me hubiera opuesto á esto.

Y V. M. sepa que despues de esto me ha ordenado Madama, así por cartas como por el secretario Berti, que yo quisiese quedar en Utrecht en mis goviernos, hasta que fuesse V. M. advertido de mis escusas, allegando tambien que no podia aceptar ella mis comisarios como á mí, y que asimismo se escusaba de aceptar mi descargo del govierno que ella me avia dado desta villa ; todavia no he osado contravenir al mandamiento de V. M. en retener los dichos goviernos, como V. M., siendo servido, lo podrá ver por las copias de las cartas de Su Alteza y mis respuestas que van juntamente con esta : por lo qual me parece que tanto mejor podré ser escusado, que ay otros que podrán hacer mejor el deseo, agrado y contentamiento de muchos, que no yo, segun soy calumniado.

Por tanto suplico á V. M. muy humilmente sea servido de no interpretar que esta dificultad y excusa que hago del juramento proceda por falta de afficion que yo tenga al servicio de V. M., porque cierto en mis procedimientos

y actiones pueden tomar testimonio de lo contrario ; antes, por las presentes razones, declaradas mas largamente en las cartas de Su Alteza, espero que V. M. los tomará en consideracion : que quanto al juramento de fiel vasallo y leal subgeto, no mancaré jamás, y mi intencion es de guardar y mantener hasta el cabo, y podria ser que no se hallase ninguno en todos los reynos de V. M. que me hiziese ventaja á la fidelidad y obediencia que devo y soy obligado á V. M., como á mi prîncipe natural, en la qual pienso, con la ayuda de Dios, de continuar de tal manera que V. M., tendra contentamiento y entera satisfacion. Nuestro Señor, etc.

De Anvers, à 10 de Avril, 1567.

# APPENDIX E.

## LE PRINCE D'ORANGE AU MARQUIS DE BERGHES.*

Il lui fait part de son intention de se retirer des Pays-Bas, et lui en déduit les motifs.

BREDA, 13 Avril, 1567.

Monsieur, je ne sçay comme je pourois déservir l'obligation que je vous doibs de ce que m'avés faict la faveur de me mander de voz novelles, ensamble de bones et honestes offres qu'il vous a pleu me faire, et que continués en l'affection et amitié laquelle m'avés tousjours démonstré, vous asseurant que ne le faictes à homme ingrat, ains à celluy qui désir se emploier, en tous endrois où qui concernerat vostre service, de aussi bon ceur que amy et serviteur vostre le pourat faire. J'ey délaissé de vous escrire despuis quelque mois en çà, une partie pour point user de reditte de ce que monsieur d'Egmont et

* On lit, au dos : "Resute à Madrid, ce dernier d'apvril 1567, par Robes."

The Marquis de Berghes and Baron Montigny went to Spain in the spring of 1566 to represent to Philip that his measures would be ruinous to the country. They were never allowed to leave the peninsula. De Berghes died of a fever on May 21, 1567, while Montigny was kept in confinement three years longer and privately executed on October 16, 1570. Orange possibly intended this private letter to be seen by Philip to prove that he was sincere in his words to the king.

monsieur le conte de Mansfelt vous puellent avoir particulièrement advertis, comme ceulx qu'ilx ont la pluspart tenuz leur résidence en court, où que touttes occurrences abondent, comme aussi pour ce que ne vous eusse sceu mander chose bonne, ou de quoy eussiés peu recepvoir quelque contentement, oultre ce que je sçay bien que mes lettres sont tenues aulx mesmes termes comme mes actions ; ainsi esper que me tiendrés pour excusé. Voiant donques de quel piet qu'on marche en mon endroit, et la fasson de laquelle l'on use de mestre ce bon païs à l'entier ruine, ce que j'estime plus que non pas mon particulier, n'ay volu plus longement attendre de vous advertir de ma résolution : car il n'est pas à moy de veoir destruire ce povre païs, moings de donner conseil, advis ou assistence en chose que cognois ester nostre perdition. A l'occasion de quoy suis résolu de me retirer pour quelque temps : ce que peus tant plus librement faire, puisque le commandement de Sa Majesté est absolutement que tous ceulx qui ne vouldront faire le nouveau serrement seront démis de leurs estas et charges, sans prendre regart à personne, et sans aultre mistère, pour auquel commandement obéir, comme la raison le veult aussi, suis déchargé de mes estatz, car ne peus aulcunement faire ledict nouveau serrement, et ce pour plusieurs raisons urgentes, desquelles vous en ay déclairé une partie, devant vostre partement vers Espaigne, mesmes en présence des aultres seigneurs, voire en plain conseil ; et, si ne fusse esté par le pourchas et persuasion de vous aultres, messeigneurs, me fusse retiré allors, pour éviter touttes ultérieures calomnies, en oultre les travaux et paines qui m'as vallu souffrir despuis, avecque hasart de ma vie : ce que poiés ester asseuré que n'eusse aulcunement enterprinse, pour le bon gré que j'en debvois attendre, car j'estois trop bien

apprins du passé : mais le pure zèle qui j'ay toujours porté au service de Sa Majesté et bien et repos du païs comme fais encores, et feray tous les jours de ma vie, me l'ont faict faire, et l'ay effectué autant fidèlement que à moy ast esté possible, et selon que j'ay trouvé ester requis et nécessaire pour le temps présent, comme en vouldrois aussi respondre devant Dieu et le monde. J'ay escript à Sa Majesté les raisons qui me meuvent de point faire le serrement noveau, et d'avoir à ceste occasion remis mes estas et gouvernemens enter les mains de Son Altèze, esperant que Sa Majesté, prennant considérations à mes justes raisons, ne le prenderat de mavèse part, de tant plus qui n'y at question du serrement de vassal et subject, auquel ne feray jammais faulte, estant bien asseuré que homme de ce monde ne me porterat advantaige à la fidélité et obéissance que je doibs à mon prince. Je ne vous fais aulcune responce sur le contenue de la lettre que avés escript à monsieur d'Egmont, n'estant matière qui se peult traicter par escript, ains le remesteray jusques à vostre retour, où espor allers vous dire mes raisons si amples, par quoy que n'ay peu ensuivre vostre advis, que ne me sauriés donner aulcung tort, comme Sillires, serviteur vostre, vous en porrat rendre bon compte, à vostre venue, pour sçavoir ce qui s'est passé. A la reste, monsieur, vous sçavés que vous suis serviteur et amy, et vous le demoreray certes partout où je seray, comme vous prie voloir asseurer de ma part le mesme à monsieur de Montigny, auquel ne escrips, servant ceste pour tous deux. Et, sur ce, vous baiseray les mains, priant le Créateur vous donner, monsieur, en santé, bonne vie et longe. De Breda, ce xiij$^{e}$ d'apvril a° 1567.

Je vous prie, messeigneurs, puisque sçay bien que l'on vous faict tout plain des advertissemens de l'estat du païs, et, enter aultres, de chose qui me porat toucher, de point

voloir adjouster foy, avant avoir ouï l'aultre parti, car ay bien aperceu, par vostre lettre, que avés eu rapport bien au contraire de ce qui en est : mais n'en feray issi aulcune disculpe, remestant le tout à la venue de Sa Majesté.

Vostre affectionné serviteur et amy,

GUILLE DE NASSAU.

*Suscription:* A monsieur monsieur le marquis de Berghes.

Original autographe, aux Archives de Simancas : *Papeles de Estado*, liasse 533.

# APPENDIX F.

## THE REFORMATION OF THE NETHERLANDS.

### 1567.

"On the 10th of April, the magistrates of Antwerp called together the reformed and Lutheran ministers of that city, representing to them, with soft and hard words too, the necessity they lay under of avoiding the King's displeasure, and exhorting him to forbear preaching until further orders. Upon this account they intimated that it would be proper for the ministers to leave town with a safe conduct, which should be procured them. This was hard indeed, but it was no less hard to abide the extremity. The Prince advised the same thing; upon which they complied; and some of them went the same day, as did the rest the next day, and the Prince of Orange himself, being attended by a large escort of gentlemen, merchants, and others. When he came to Breda the ministers and deputies of those of the Augsburg Confession desired him to grant them, under his hand and seal, a testimonial of their regular vocation, life, and conversation, according to the convention between the magistrates and them, the second of September last, and to signify that they had not otherwise behaved themselves than as dutiful subjects to the magistrates and his majesty. The prince consented to it, and added that

they had indeed behaved themselves dutifully, and had stood by the magistrates against those who had been the occasion of the late trouble. . . . After this the prince took his journey to Germany, declaring he would attempt nothing against the king unless attacked by him in his fortune and honor; as for religion he had little relish for it at that time." *

* Gerard Brandt, *Hist. of the Ref. in and about the Low Countries*, i., 254. English version.

# APPENDIX G.

## THE TENTH PENNY.

1569.

"Alva in the meanwhile renewed his demand of the 20th and 10th penny, and ordained that the said tax (though with some abatement) should be raised by a placard. The states of the particular provinces, especially those of Holland, scrupled to promulgate any such placard. However, it was published at Amsterdam and some other places, though against their will. But collectors refused to serve and magistrates would not oblige them to. At Amsterdam the Aldermen shifted it on the Burgomasters, and these again upon the others, for which reason the city was fined 25,000 guilders, causing great discontent. . . . Public prayers were made 'that God would vouchsafe to soften the hard and cruel heart of the Duke of Alva, to the end that he would hearken to reason and equity.' . . . In the meantime the Prince of Orange was not idle, but gathered fresh forces and asked diligently for money. . . . One Peter Willemson Bormgard, of the Waterland congregation . . . collected 1060 gilden—a large sum in those days. This money was carried by the said Bormgard, and one Richard Johnson Kortenborch to the prince, in his camp at Hellenraede, near Roermund, not without great danger

to their lives. They prayed him to take in good part this small present from his servants . . . and they never desired to be repaid. The prince asked what return he could make them, and they said his protection, if God bestowed these provinces on him. The prince said 'that he would show to all men, especially to them that were exiles and refugees, as well as he.' He likewise gave them a receipt for the money under his hand, with an obligation to bear them harmless from all trouble on that account.

"But nothing promoted his designs more than Alva's method of raising taxes, and his obstinately insisting upon that particular one." *

* Brandt, i., 295.

MEDAL OF THE BEGGARS.

# APPENDIX H.

## JOHN AND MARIE RUBENS.

### (CHAPTER XVIII.)

John Rubens was saved first from summary execution and, later, from close imprisonment by the persistent and devoted efforts of his wife. Several of Marie Rubens's letters are preserved, and show a character in marked contrast to the woman for whose sake her husband deserted her. On April 1st she writes to him in great anxiety for his safety. One request of his she cannot obey,—to appear blythe when her heart is heavy. So she excuses herself to every one, as she is trying, in accordance with his wish, to keep the affair secret. Before this is dispatched she receives one from Rubens. The following passages are taken from her answer :

"DEAR AND MUCH BELOVED HUSBAND : After I had written the enclosed letter, our messenger arrived with your letter, and I am rejoiced to hear that you are pleased with my forgiveness. I never dreamed that you would think that I should make so much of it. How could I be severe now and burden you further when you are already in deep trouble and anxiety, out of which I would help you with my blood were it possible. And if that were not true, after so long a friendship could hate spring so quickly that I could not pardon a fault toward

me, slight in comparison with the misdeeds for which I beg forgiveness from my heavenly father, on the condition 'as I forgive those who trespass against me.' That would be like the unjust steward who was forgiven his big debts by his master, and then wanted his brother to pay a small sum to the very last penny. Your excellency may rest assured that I have forgiven him. Were you only free we would be happy enough. . . . I hope the Lord will hear me and put it in the hearts of the gentlemen to commiserate us, for sure they will slay me as well as you—for I would die of sorrow and my heart would refuse to hear the tidings. . . . One thing gives me courage. You say that Count John answered your messenger that they would do what their honour permitted. This bids me think that their honour could not be better preserved than with your life, for with your death, every one, who knows nothing now, would have the right to ask why. . . . It does not come into my heart that we are to be separated forever. . . . My soul is so bound to yours that you cannot suffer without hurting me. . . . Oh, we do not ask our rights, only mercy, only mercy, and if that be not granted what shall we begin!"

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